

# **GOOD GOVERNANCE AND GENDER EQUALITY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This Master's thesis seeks to shed light on the general connection between good governance and gender equality. The first two chapters attempt to provide one possibility for understanding women's rights conditions in Middle East, North Africa (MENA) and Sub-Saharan Africa through the theory of governance. The first two chapters address the following hypothesis: governments, with 'good' governance, are more likely to protect women's rights than governments, with 'poor' governance. To study this hypothesis, the first paper addresses the research question, to what extent is poor governance linked to gender inequality in Saudi Arabia? Similarly, the second paper addresses the question: to what extent is poor governance linked to gender inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa? By reporting findings of Worldwide Governance Indicators and Global Gender Gap Index, the results revealed that generally Saudi Arabian poor governance was associated with having gender inequalities in the country. As for Sub-Saharan African region, the results showed that there was a positive, albeit weak, correlation between good governance and gender equality. These two papers with their investigation of linkage between gender discrimination and quality of MENA and African governments may contribute to the literature on MENA and African women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women's rights through advancing good governance and democracy in these regions. The third chapter examines the effect of question wording on perceptions of women in political and public sphere. This research argues that intuitive-phrased questions on gender roles will have a different distribution of response options than counterintuitive-phrased questions. Using a survey experiment, the results showed that there is a clear difference in the distribution of responses between

intuitive and counterintuitive-phrased questions. Respondents asked counterintuitive-phrased questions were more likely to either agree or be neutral on statements supporting women over men while those who received intuitive-phrased questions were more likely to express their disagreement on statements supporting men over women. Gender and political ideologies differences were found in the data. The results of this study have both policy and theoretical implications on women's underrepresentation in US politics.

**Key words:** good governance, poor governance, governance, women's rights, gender inequality, Saudi Arabia, Middle East, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, survey experiment, gender attitudes, public and political sphere

**JHU Thesis Readers:** Dr. Sarah O'Byrne, Dr. Ken Masugi

## **PREFACE**

This thesis is made as a completion of the master degree in Government. Yours truly has a bachelor degree in International Affairs from Qatar University and this thesis is the product of the master period, which is the last part of the Government study at Johns Hopkins University, Advanced Academic Programs.

I would like to thank several persons who have contributed academically to the success of my education at Hopkins. I would like to first thank Dr. Jennifer Bachner for her continuous support and guidance throughout the entire master period. I would like to also thank Prof. Blake Ethridge for his time and valuable input during the thesis process.

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## INTRODUCTION

International community agreed upon a set of basic principles of women's rights.<sup>1</sup> Yet many governments in less developed countries continue to disregard its fundamental importance by neglecting their commitment and duty to women's rights made by signing and ratifying treaties. High levels of mistreatment of women persist in these regions. The promotion of women's rights is not only an indicator of the understanding of any society's wellbeing but also fundamental to accomplishing United Nations' Millennium Development Goals and Beijing Platform for Action.<sup>2</sup> The participation of women in decision-making process and in politics is one of the fundamental sections presented in Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, and the same notion was confirmed in 2000 through Millennium Development Goals specifically in the third goal relating to "Promoting Gender Equality and Empowering Women." According to UN Women and the Inter-Parliamentary Union's 2014 Women in Politics Map, only 5.9 percent of women are heads of state and 7.8 percent are heads of government. This means that around 86 percent of the leadership positions in politics are held by men.<sup>3</sup>

The first two chapters attempt to provide one possibility for understanding women's rights conditions in Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa through the theory of governance. The first and second chapter address the following hypothesis: governments, with 'good' governance, are more likely to protect women's rights than governments,

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<sup>1</sup> CEDAW-- Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. "*Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, January 2013*," [http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/HRIndicators/Ratification/Status\\_CEDAW.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/HRIndicators/Ratification/Status_CEDAW.pdf) (accessed March 2nd, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, *2013 The Millennium Development Goals Report* (New York: United Nations, 2013), 18; United Nations, *Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action*, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing: United Nations, 1995), 18-118.

<sup>3</sup> UN Women and the Inter-Parliamentary Union, "*Women in Politics: 2014*," [http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap14\\_en.pdf](http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap14_en.pdf) (accessed April 16, 2014).

with ‘poor’ governance. To study this hypothesis, the first paper addresses the research question, to what extent is poor governance linked to gender inequality in Saudi Arabia? Similarly, the second paper addresses the question: to what extent is poor governance linked to gender inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa?

These papers will seek to shed light on the general connection between poor governance and gender inequality in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and Sub-Saharan Africa. Saudi Arabia will be used as a case study representing the Middle East and North Africa. Although Kingdom of Saudi Arabia signed and ratified the ‘United Nations’ Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women’ in 2000, women are still treated as second class citizens. They are not allowed to travel, work, study or even open a bank account without a written permission from a male guardian. Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world to ban women from driving, voting and running for public office. On the other hand, the second chapter will include large-n analysis from Sub-Saharan African countries. The research argues that governments with ‘poor governance’ do not perform an adequate job of protecting women’s rights. The first two papers with its investigation of linkage between gender discrimination and quality of governments may contribute to the literature on MENA and Sub-Saharan African women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women’s rights through advancing good governance and democracy in these regions.

Many of the arguments found in the literature of the first and second chapters are beneficial when assessing good governance hypothesis. If promoting good governance

might lead to safeguarding women's rights in MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa, it is definitely worth pursuing, and decision-makers may perhaps be justified in enforcing good governance strategies in these regions. Despite the strength of the analysis, the directional relationship through regression analysis between women's rights and good governance did not receive adequate attention. Does government, with elements of good governance, protect women's rights? Or does women's presence in the areas of governance lead to good governance? The analysis suggests that researchers of MENA and African regions and gender studied extensively religion, traditions, and economy in relation to women's rights violations, but they did not study poor governance, as defined by World Bank & UNESCAP, in relation to gender which may be relevant to understanding and potentially eliminating violations committed against women.

The aim of the third chapter is to conduct a survey experiment that will assist us to understand the effect of question wording on questions related to perception of women in public and political spheres. Since 2006 the World Economic Forum has published the Global Gender Gap Index every year. The Index provides data on gender disparities in economy, politics, education and health for most of the countries. Considering that United States is one of the most liberal countries, one would assume that the United States would rank highly in the index. However, it ranked 23<sup>rd</sup> out of 136 states in 2013. Making the U.S. far behind Iceland, the 5-year number one state.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the percentage of office holders, who are women, is not only under-represented at the federal level, but gender inequalities were also found at the state and locals levels, where more

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<sup>4</sup> The World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2013*, Geneva: The World Economic Forum, 2013. 221, 371.

than three-quarters of elected officials were men.<sup>5</sup> One of the possibilities to understanding the under-representation of American women in politics is through exploring attitudes towards and perceptions of women in public and political spheres. With upcoming presidential elections, women's groups aspire to elect the first U.S. female president. After Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin took a part in 2008 campaign, it would be difficult to accept having another cycle such as 2012 presidential campaign that included all male candidates. The findings of the experiment in the third chapter may provide a general public's perception towards women in American politics and possible explanation for women's political under-representation in the U.S.

Much of the current literature focused on statements that are in alignment with gender roles and stereotypes. One may notice that majority of survey questions, particularly agree/disagree questions, used statements that emphasized men's superiority.<sup>6</sup> For instance, the World Values Survey administered the following questions: "when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women", "do you think that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled or is this not necessary?" and "on the whole, men make better political leaders than women do."<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, statements that are in contradiction with gender stereotypes were almost entirely absent. Therefore, I decided to conduct a survey experiment in the third chapter that includes two samples: one sample will receive statements emphasizing accepted stereotypes (e.g. when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women)

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<sup>5</sup> The Center for American Women and Politics, "*Women in Elected Office 2014*," [http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast\\_facts/levels\\_of\\_office/documents/elective.pdf](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/elective.pdf) (accessed April 16, 2014)

<sup>6</sup> ); Pew Research Center, "*On Pay Gap, Millennial Women Near Parity – For Now Despite Gains, Many See Roadblocks Ahead*;" Pew Research Center, "*Pew Global Attitudes Project: 2010 Gender Survey of 22 Nations*;" World Values Surveys, "*1981 US World Values Surveys*;" World Values Surveys, "*1999 US World Values Surveys*."

<sup>7</sup> World Values Surveys, "*1999 US World Values Surveys*."

while the other sample will receive statements that contradict accepted stereotypes (e.g. when jobs are scarce, women should have more right to a job than men). This experiment will examine the effect of intuitive vs. counterintuitive phrasing on distribution of response options.

The rest of the thesis is organized as follows. In the first two chapters, I first review the existing literature on the present status of women and root causes of gender inequality in the MENA and African regions. Second I briefly explain the concepts of governance and good governance. Then I review arguments in favor of good governance and human and women's rights. The following sections describe the methodology and results of the study. Finally, I conclude with thoughts about the implications of my analysis for a future research on gender and governance. In the third chapter, I discuss the important of survey experiment. Then I review the existing literature and my contribution to the current scholarship. The following sections describe the methodological justification and key findings. Finally I conclude by explaining the theoretical and policy implications as well as summary of methods.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **POOR GOVERNANCE AND GENDER INEQUALITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA**

#### **THE CASE STUDY OF SAUDI ARABIA**

## ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to shed light on the general connection between poor governance and gender inequality in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). This research argues that governments with ‘poor governance’ do not perform an adequate job of protecting women’s rights. By reporting findings of Worldwide Governance Indicators and Global Gender Gap Index, the results revealed that generally Saudi Arabian poor governance was associated with having gender inequalities in the country. The present paper with its investigation of linkage between gender discrimination and quality of Saudi government may contribute to the literature on MENA women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women’s rights through advancing good governance and democracy in the region.

**Key words:** good governance, poor governance, governance, women’s rights, gender inequality, Saudi Arabia, Middle East, North Africa.

## INTRODUCTION

Although the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia signed and ratified the ‘United Nations’ Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women’ in 2000, women are still treated as second class citizens. They are not allowed to travel, work, study or even open a bank account without a written permission from a male guardian. Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world to ban women from driving, voting and running for public office. This paper attempts to provide one possibility for understanding women’s rights conditions in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) through the theory of governance. The first chapter addresses the following hypothesis: governments, with ‘good’ governance, are more likely to protect women’s rights than governments, with ‘poor’ governance. To study this hypothesis, this paper addresses the question, to what extent is poor governance linked to gender inequality in Saudi Arabia?

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. I first review the existing literature on the present status of women and root causes of gender inequality in the MENA region. Second I briefly explain the concepts of governance and good governance. Then I review arguments in favor of good governance and human and women’s rights. The following sections describe the methodology and results of the study. Finally, I conclude with thoughts about the implications of my analysis for a future research on gender and governance.



## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Status of Women in the Middle East and North Africa*

International community agreed upon a set of basic principles of women's rights.<sup>8</sup> Yet many governments in less developed countries continue to disregard its fundamental importance by neglecting their commitment and duty to women's rights made by signing and ratifying treaties. High levels of mistreatment of women persist in these regions. The promotion of women's rights is not only an indicator of the understanding of any society's wellbeing but also fundamental to accomplishing the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals and Beijing Platform for Action.<sup>9</sup>

Despite significant progress made regarding status of women, gender inequality remains prevalent in most Middle Eastern countries. For instance, nationality laws in the majority of Arab countries prohibited the granting of citizenship to children born to foreign husbands. In addition, Iranian women are banned from leaving their homes (*see* Article 105 of Iran's Civil Code) and applying for a passport (*see* Article 18 of Iran's Passport Law) without their spouses' permission.<sup>10</sup> Together human rights scholars and activists produced a number of studies on gender disparities in rights such as right to

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<sup>8</sup> CEDAW-- Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. "Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, January 2013," [http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/HRIndicators/Ratification/Status\\_CEDAW.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/HRIndicators/Ratification/Status_CEDAW.pdf) (accessed March 2nd, 2014).

<sup>9</sup> United Nations, *2013 The Millennium Development Goals Report* (New York: United Nations, 2013), 18; United Nations, *Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action*, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing: United Nations, 1995), 18-118.

<sup>10</sup> The Women's Forum Against Fundamentalism in Iran (WFAFI), *Official Laws against Women in Iran* (Boston: WFAFI, 2005), 1-2.

nationality,<sup>11</sup> education,<sup>12</sup> sport and physical exercise,<sup>13</sup> vote,<sup>14</sup> and freedom of movement.<sup>15</sup> Periodically, much of the literature documented experiences of discrimination and prejudice against women in the MENA region such as domestic violence,<sup>16</sup> sexual abuse,<sup>17</sup> sex segregation,<sup>18</sup> male guardianship,<sup>19</sup> child & forced marriage,<sup>20</sup> female genital cutting,<sup>21</sup> and honor crimes.<sup>22</sup> For example, a study administered by Human Rights Watch (2006) investigated the domestic violence against women and girls in Occupational Palestinian Territories. Human Rights Watch interviews with abused victims confirmed the spread and seriousness of the problem that ranged from marital and child abuse to rape, sexual harassment, and honor killings. They found that biased laws and lack of institutionalized procedures led to providing less protection to the victims, as offenders were not held accountable for the committed crimes.<sup>23</sup> Another study conducted by Human Rights Watch (2011) revealed how forced and early

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<sup>11</sup> United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), *Women, Nationality and Citizenship* (New York: United Nations, 2003), 8-10; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 1995* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 43

<sup>12</sup> The World Bank, *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2001)

<sup>13</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Steps of the Devil: Denial of Women's and Girls' Rights to Sport in Saudi Arabia* (United States of America: Human Rights Watch, 2012)

<sup>14</sup> United Nations Development Programme, *Arab Human Development Report 2009: Challenges to Human Security in the Arab Countries* (New York: Regional Bureau for Arab States, 2009), 58.

<sup>15</sup> The World Bank, *Engendering Development*, 109-112; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), *Women, Nationality and Citizenship*, 14-15

<sup>16</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Occupied Palestinian Territories: A Question of Security: Violence against Palestinian Women and Girls* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2006)

<sup>17</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Climate of Fear: Sexual Violence and Abduction of Women and Girls in Baghdad* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2003)

<sup>18</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Perpetual Minors: Human Rights Abuses Stemming from Male Guardianship and Sex Segregation in Saudi Arabia* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2008)

<sup>19</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Perpetual Minors*.

<sup>20</sup> Human Rights Watch, *How Come You Allow Little Girls to Get Married? Child Marriage in Yemen*, (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2011). United Nations Population Fund, *Marrying Too Young: End Child Marriage* (New York: United Nations Population Fund, 2012).

<sup>21</sup> Human Rights Watch, *They Took Me and Told Me Nothing: Female Genital Mutilation in Iraqi Kurdistan* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2010).

<sup>22</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Honoring the Killers: Justice Denied For "Honor" Crimes in Jordan* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2004)

<sup>23</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Occupied Palestinian Territories: A Question of Security*

marriage in Yemen subjected young girls to marital rape and violence from their husbands, in-laws and other members of the family. It is worth noting that Yemen's Personal Status Law did not set the minimum marriage age for both sexes.<sup>24</sup>

Scholars of gender and politics systematically examined gender disparities in women's political participation and representation at the local and national levels of government in Middle Eastern, Northern African,<sup>25</sup> and Sub-Saharan African countries.<sup>26</sup> Women had limited influence on areas of public policy and governance as they were overwhelmingly underrepresented in local municipalities and national parliaments.<sup>27</sup> Emirati women, for instance, managed to take seven out of the forty council seats in 2013. While both Kuwaiti and Bahraini national assemblies had four females in 65-seat and 40-seat parliaments, respectively.<sup>28</sup> More recently, a report issued by World Bank provided a complete overview of countries' performance in the areas of gender equality (i.e. health, education, economy and politics) over the past 8 years. The 2013 Global Gender Gap Report showed that the MENA region was the only region that did not make improvements in its overall ranking in 2013. For example, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Qatar had the highest ranking in the region (109, 112 and 115, respectively). Yet much of the achievements were made possible through equality in education. United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and other countries in Middle East failed to take

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<sup>24</sup> Human Rights Watch, *How Come You Allow Little Girls to Get Married*.

<sup>25</sup> Amal Sabbagh, "The Arab States: Enhancing Women's Political Participation," in *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, ed. Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), 52-71; Khadijah Errebah, "Women's Political Participation: The Moroccan Example," in *Arab Quota Report: Selected Case Studies*, (Stockholm: International IDEA), 56-60; Razieh Rezazadeh, "Women Empowerment and Good Urban Governance in Iran," *Asian Social Science* 7.3 (2011): 265-268.

<sup>26</sup> Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, "Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance: Gender and Development in the Twenty-First Century," in *Gender and Development*, 11: 3 (2003): 45-56.

<sup>27</sup> The World Bank, *Engendering Development*, 31-33.

<sup>28</sup> IPU—Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in National Parliaments: Situation as of November 1st, 2013," <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> (accessed November 22, 2013).

advantage of their investments in education in providing greater involvement of women in politics.<sup>29</sup> Moghadam (2004) argued that the “relative novelty of elections”<sup>30</sup> led, in some part, to limiting women’s political participation.<sup>31</sup>

### *Root Causes of Women Inequality in MENA Region*

Women’s rights advocates and analysts pointed out that the current status of women in the Middle East has been largely determined by religious misinterpretation of Islam,<sup>32</sup> legal & political discrimination,<sup>33</sup> traditional patriarchal norms,<sup>34</sup> and economic disadvantages.<sup>35</sup> Many studies focused on how religion particularly Islam caused gender inequality in the MENA region.<sup>36</sup> As Schmitt-Thiel (2008) stated: “If one looks at policies in Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran, one can indeed seem to find evidence supporting this viewpoint, as restrictions against women are explained with

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<sup>29</sup> The World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2013* (Geneva: The World Economic Forum, 2013), 28-31.

<sup>30</sup> Voting rights were granted to Arab women in 1950s (Lebanon, Egypt, and Tunisia), 1960s (Libya, Yemen, and Algeria), and 1990s (Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait). With the exception of Saudi Arabia, right to participate in elections was granted between the years of 2002 and 2003 in the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf.

<sup>31</sup> Valentine M. Moghadam, “Towards Gender equality in the Arab/Middle East Region: Islam, Culture, and Feminist Activism,” (Occasional paper prepared for United Nations Development Programme, 2004), 34

<sup>32</sup> Ziba Mir-Hosseini, “Muslim Women's Quest for Equality: Between Islamic Law and Feminism,” *Critical Inquiry* 32: 4 (2006): 629-645.

<sup>33</sup> United Nations Development Programme, *Arab Human Development Report 2009*, 79-96.

<sup>34</sup> Amal Sabbagh, “The Arab States: Enhancing Women’s Political Participation,” 54-55; Azza Karam, “*Strengthening the Role of Women Parliamentarians in the Arab Region: Challenges and Options*,” 1999. <http://www.euromedgenderequality.org/image.php?id=479> (accessed November 1st, 2013); Hisham Sharabi, *Neopatriarchy: A Theory of Distorted Change in Arab Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Julia Schmitt-Thiel, “The Role of Women in Transforming Middle Eastern and North African Societies,” in *Bound to Cooperate: Europe and the Middle East*, ed. Christian-Peter Hanelt and Almut Moller (Gutersloh: Bertelsmann Foundation, 2008), 250-270.

<sup>35</sup> Amal Sabbagh, “The Arab States: Enhancing Women’s Political Participation,” 54; Azza Karam, “*Strengthening the Role of Women Parliamentarians in the Arab Region*,” 11-13.

<sup>36</sup> Julia Schmitt-Thiel, “The Role of Women in Transforming Middle Eastern and North African Societies,” 256-257; Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, “The True Clash of Civilizations,” *Foreign Policy* 135 (2003): 62–70

religious imperatives.”<sup>37</sup> For example, both Saudi Arabia and Iran deployed religious police to force citizens into complying with Islam’s moral codes (i.e. veiling and sex segregation).<sup>38</sup> Feminist scholars argued that Muslim governments were reluctant to sign and ratify the United Nation’s Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) without substantial reservations since their Family Laws such as codes related to marriage, child custody, inheritance and divorce in the Middle East were based on *Sharia* (Islamic Law).<sup>39</sup> Evidently, Muslim States made reservations against articles relating to gender equality (i.e. women role within family, rights to nationality & mobility, equality before law, and political rights) as they were perceived to be in conflict with the Islamic Law.<sup>40</sup>

In her study of feminist activism in the Middle East region, Moghadam (2004) divided feminist scholars into two groups: (2) secular feminists, such as Haleh Afshar and Mai Ghoussoub, who believed that obedience to Islamic laws is the source of women’s repression in the MENA region, and (2) Muslim feminists such as Amira Sonbol and Azizah al-Hibri who argued for “egalitarian and emancipatory content of the Qur’an, which they maintain has been hijacked by patriarchal interpretations since the early middle ages.”<sup>41</sup> Other researchers considered patriarchy as one of the main challenges to

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<sup>37</sup> Julia Schmitt-Thiel, “The Role of Women in Transforming Middle Eastern and North African Societies,” 256.

<sup>38</sup> Valentine M. Moghadam, “Towards Gender equality in the Arab/Middle East Region,” 17.

<sup>39</sup> Ann Elizabeth Mayer, “Cultural Pluralism as a Bar to Women’s Rights: Reflections on the Middle Eastern Experience,” in *Women’s Rights, Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Julie Peters and Andrea Wolper (New York: Routledge, 1995), 178-179; Jane Connors, “The Women’s Convention in the Muslim World,” in *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives*, ed. Mai Yamani (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 351-371.

<sup>40</sup> More specifically, Muslim States had reservations on the following articles: 2, 7, 9, 15, and 16. See CEDAW-- Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, “*Declarations, Reservations and Objections to CEDAW*,” <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reservations-country.htm> (accessed November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013).

<sup>41</sup> Valentine M. Moghadam, “Towards Gender equality in the Arab/Middle East Region,” 6-7.

women's equality in the Middle East. Sharabi's term of "neopatriarchal state" has been widely adopted by many of them. Sharabi argued that "neopatriarchy" in which the authority, empowered by religion, and patriarchal family reinforced each other, and sought to resist modernization and change in the name of protecting traditions and customs. Therefore, Sharabi along with others believed that such resistance strengthened the patriarchal practices such as "male breadwinner/protected females" custom, arranged marriages, and veiling.<sup>42</sup> Contrary to other analysts, Ross's article (2008) suggested that "different types of economic growth can have different effects on gender relations." He argued that as a result of incomes from oil extraction, women in oil-rich countries such Saudi Arabia and Kuwait will be less inclined to enter the labor force and participate in political sphere. Whereas countries in which their economic development was based on industrialization (i.e. export-oriented industrialization) will be more likely to have changes in gender relations as women enter the work force in great numbers, and become politically involved.<sup>43</sup>

### *Good Governance Definition*

Before I define the term 'good governance', let's first define the term 'governance'. Governance is, as stated by Fukuyama (2013), "government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not" (p. 350).<sup>44</sup> Existing academic and policy literature revealed that there

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<sup>42</sup> Amal Sabbagh, "The Arab States: Enhancing Women's Political Participation," 55; Hisham Sharabi, *Neopatriarchy*; Julia Schmitt-Thiel, "The Role of Women in Transforming Middle Eastern and North African Societies."; Valentine M. Moghadam, "Towards Gender equality in the Arab/Middle East Region."

<sup>43</sup> Michael L. Ross, "Oil, Islam, and Women," *American Political Science Review* 102: 1 (2008): 120.

<sup>44</sup> Francis Fukuyama, "What Is Governance?" *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, 26:3 (2013): 350.

were multiple definitions for the term ‘good governance’<sup>45</sup> For example, Rothstein and Teorell (2008) showed how good governance was conceptualized by researchers as either ‘good for’ developing the economy, democratizing governments, or compacting corruption. In other words, scholars slightly differed in what they believed to be a good process or outcome as they perceived good governance to be ‘good’ for specific set of outcome(s). For the purpose of this paper, I shall use United Nations’ comprehensive definition of good governance which is “participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable. And it promotes the rule of law. Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources.”<sup>46</sup>

Researchers at World Bank (1999) identified six components of good governance: (1) accountability and voice; (2) political stability; (3) effectiveness of government; (4) regulatory quality; (5) rule of law; and (6) corruption control.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific developed eight dimensions of good governance: (1) accountability: holding governmental and non-governmental institutions liable for their actions; (2) transparency: providing accessible and available information to those who will be affected by the decisions; (3) responsiveness: serving the public

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<sup>45</sup> Anne Mette Kjaer, *Governance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004); Bo Rothstein and Jan Teorell, “What Is Quality of Government? A Theory of Impartial Government Institutions,” *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 21: 2 (2008): 165–190; Christiane Arndt and Charles Oman, *Development Centre Studies: Uses and Abuses of Governance Indicators*, (Paris: OECD, 2006); Martin Doornbos, “Good Governance”: The Metamorphosis of a Policy Metaphor,” *Journal of International Affairs* 57:1 (2003): 3–17; Thomas G. Weiss, “Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and Actual Challenges,” *Third World Quarterly* 21:5 (2000): 795–814.

<sup>46</sup> United Nations Development Programme, “*Governance for Sustainable Human Development: A Policy UNDP Document*,” 1997 <http://mirror.undp.org/magnet/policy/> (accessed November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013).

<sup>47</sup> Daniel Kaufmann et al., *Governance Matters*, Policy Research Working Paper (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1999).

within a reasonable time; (4) impartiality: being inclusive of all members of society particularly the most vulnerable groups; (5) effectiveness and efficiency: making the best use of resources in a sustainable manner; (6) rule of law: having fair and independent judiciary; (7) participation: ensuring direct or indirect participation of both men and women in the decision-making process; and (8) consensus-oriented decisions: reaching to a broad-based consensus among different groups and members of the society.<sup>48</sup>

### *Good Governance & Human Rights*

A substantial amount of work are published on good governance, much of it focused on how good governance improved economic conditions through poverty reduction,<sup>49</sup> debt forgiveness,<sup>50</sup> and trade openness<sup>51</sup> in developing and less-developed countries. Literature on good governance studies are also linked to political development,<sup>52</sup> environmental security,<sup>53</sup> and corporate governance.<sup>54</sup>

More recently, attention has turned to good governance in relation to human rights. The relationship between human rights and good governance is assumed to be equally reinforcing. Human rights offer a set of principles that guide governments'

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<sup>48</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, "What is Good Governance," 2007 <http://www.unescap.org/pdd/prs/projectactivities/ongoing/gg/governance.pdf> (accessed November 1st, 2013).

<sup>49</sup> Abu Elias Sarker and Mohammad H. Rahman, "The Emerging Perspective of Governance and Poverty Alleviation: A Case of Bangladesh," Springer 7 (2007): 93–112; Muhammad Y. Malarvizhi, "Good-Governance and Poverty Reduction Relationship a case study of Nigeria," *Australian Journal of Basic and Applied Sciences* 7:2 (2013): 804-812.

<sup>50</sup> Eric Neumayer, "Is Good Governance Rewarded? A Cross-national Analysis of Debt Forgiveness," *World Development* 30: 6 (2002): 913–930.

<sup>51</sup> Rock-Antoine Mehanna, "Quality of Governance and Openness in the Middle East: Is There a Link?" *Journal of Transnational Management Development* 8 (2002): 141- 156.

<sup>52</sup> Mick Moore, "Political Underdevelopment: What Causes 'Bad Governance,'" *Public Management Review* 3:3 (2001) 385–418.

<sup>53</sup> Michael Lockwood, "Good governance for terrestrial protected areas: A framework, principles and performance outcomes," *Journal of Environmental Management* 91 (2010): 754–766.

<sup>54</sup> Paul V. Ngobo and Maurice Fouda, "Is 'Good' governance good for business? A cross-national analysis of firms in African countries," *Journal of World Business* 47 (2012): 435–449.



functions. Yet without good governance, human rights cannot be secured.<sup>55</sup> Governments are responsible for providing public services that are essential for securing human rights principles.<sup>56</sup> These services include delivering education and health care, building accountability through transparency and free flow of information, securing social inclusion of the disadvantaged groups, and raising awareness on human rights values among the public.<sup>57</sup> Many scholars and policy-makers examined the linkage between good governance and human rights in four main themes: anti-corruption<sup>58</sup>, rule of law,<sup>59</sup> democratic institutions,<sup>60</sup> and service delivery.<sup>61</sup> For example, Chavan's article (2013) showed how lack of information, discriminatory laws, and government's monopoly of goods and services led to spread of corruption in India. He emphasized that citizens' right to freedom of information is the path to fighting corruption and promoting good governance.<sup>62</sup> Matovu (2003) argued that good governance is a requirement for local economic development since good governance is responsive to locals' needs, creates

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<sup>55</sup> United Nations Human Rights Commission, *Good Governance Practices for the Protection of Human Rights* (New York and Geneva: United Nations, 2007), 2.

<sup>56</sup> The right to education, health, social security, safety, equal protection under the law, sufficient standard of living i.e. food, clothing and shelter.

<sup>57</sup> United Nations Human Rights Commission, *Good Governance Practices for the Protection of Human Rights*, 2-3.

<sup>58</sup> George Matovu, "Policy Options for Good Governance and Local Economic Development in Eastern and Southern Africa," *EBSCO* (2003): 121-133; S.P. Chavan, "Good Governance: Indian Context," *Golden Research Thoughts* 2:11 (2013): 1-6.

<sup>59</sup> Amos Mhina, "Good Governance and Development in Tanzania: Some Ethical Issues," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 31:4 (2000): 429-438; OK. Steve Nwosu, "The Ethics of Justice and Good Governance in African Traditional Society," *Democracy and Nature* 8:3 (2002): 467- 482.

<sup>60</sup> Claire Mercer, "Performing partnership: civil society and the illusions of good governance in Tanzania," *Political Geography* 22 (2003): 741-763; Surain Subramaniam, "The Dual Narrative of "Good Governance": Lessons for Understanding Political and Cultural Change in Malaysia and Singapore," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 23:1 (2001), 65-80.

<sup>61</sup> G. Shabbir Cheema and Linda Maguire, "Governance for Human Development: The Role of External Partners," *Public Administration and Development* 21 (2001): 201-209.

<sup>62</sup> S.P. Chavan, "Good Governance: Indian Context."

partnership between governmental and non-governmental agencies, implements anti-corruption strategies, and promotes public participation.<sup>63</sup>

### *Good Governance & Women's Rights*

Connecting good governance to women's rights, scholars of women and governance studies showed how enhancement of gender equity in the areas of governance leads to the promotion of good governance.<sup>64</sup> In order to be effective, governments must understand the differing needs of its citizens, both females & males, and permit females to exercise their right to participate in matters that affect their lives.<sup>65</sup> Governments should also be involved in constructing "citizens' voice".<sup>66</sup> For example, Mukhopadhyay's article (2013) described the role of Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) 'Gender, Citizenship, and Governance' initiative in enabling women to demand 'just' governance.<sup>67</sup> In addition, Baker (2013) discussed briefly the role of Instituto Cabo-verdiano para Igualdade e Equidade de Género (ICIEG), a Cape Verdean National Gender Equality Institute, in promoting equality by increasing women's political representation, and creating an effective and responsive local networks (i.e. police,

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<sup>63</sup> George Matovu, "Policy Options for Good Governance and Local Economic Development in Eastern and Southern Africa."

<sup>64</sup> Daniel E. Gberevbie and Faith O. Oviasogie, "Women in Governance and Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria 1999-2012," *Economics and Sociology* 6:1 (2013): 89-107; Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, "Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance."; Niraja G. Jayal, "Locating Gender in the Governance Discourse," *Essays on Gender and Governance* (New York: UNDP, 2003); Razieh Rezazadeh, "Women Empowerment and Good Urban Governance in Iran."; Terwase Sampson, "Gender and Good Governance: Debates, Evidence and Concerns for Nigerian Women," *Africa Insight* 39:3 (2009): 53-69.

<sup>65</sup> Niraja G. Jayal, "Locating Gender in the Governance Discourse."

<sup>66</sup> Bruce Baker, "Cape Verde: Marketing Good Governance," *Africa Spectrum* 44:2 (2009): 135-147; Jana Everett, "Governance Reforms and Rural Women in India: What Types of Women Citizens are Produced by the Will to Empower?" *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 16:2 (2009): 279-302; Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, "Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance."

<sup>67</sup> Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, "Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance."

NGOs...etc.) that respond to reports of victims of domestic violence.<sup>68</sup> It was noted by many that engendering governmental institutions ensures that women are established as legitimate actors<sup>69</sup> and promotes participatory governance.<sup>70</sup>

On the other hand, researchers claimed that governments' weak commitment to fundamental rights caused gender disparities to persist. For example, Sampson (2009) argued how Nigerian women were constantly marginalized from participating in politics and public space due to "near-exclusion" of females from the political landscape which limited their contribution to improving good governance in Nigeria. Such exclusion resulted from having Nigerian institutions and networks largely controlled and manipulated by men. Like others, he recommended that seats in parliament should be constitutionally allocated to Nigerian women in line with Beijing Platform of Action and National Policy on women. He also recommended applying gender-based quotas in public service and political parties to increase the proportion of women in public and political space. Yet, he believed that appointing women by merit tends to establish good governance compared to those hired through networks and personal connections.<sup>71</sup>

Interestingly, economists argued that greater women's political representation was associated with lower levels of corruption attributing that women are more ethical and less corrupt than men.<sup>72</sup> Criticisms of the results by Dollar, Fisman, and Gatti (1999)

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<sup>68</sup> Bruce Baker, "Cape Verde: Marketing Good Governance," 141-142

<sup>69</sup> Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, "Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance," 52.

<sup>70</sup> Razieh Rezazadeh, "Women Empowerment and Good Urban Governance in Iran," 265.

<sup>71</sup> Terwase Sampson, "Gender and Good Governance," 67.

<sup>72</sup> Anand Swamy, Stephen Knack, Young Lee, and Omar Azfar, "Gender and Corruption," *Journal of Development Economics*, 64 (2001): 25-55; David Dollar, Raymond Fisman and Roberta Gatti, "Are Women Really the 'Fairer' Sex? Corruption and Women in Government," *World Bank Policy Research Report on Gender and Development* 4 (1999): 1-12.

have been voiced by Goetz (2003) and Sung (2003).<sup>73</sup> Goetz challenged the notion that women were inherently less corrupted. She argued that women in public offices were more likely to be excluded from engaging in corruption especially when corruption is led by male-dominated networks.

Many of the above arguments are beneficial when assessing the good governance hypothesis. If promoting good governance might lead to safeguarding women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa, it is definitely worth pursuing, and decision-makers may perhaps be justified in enforcing good governance strategies in the region. Despite the strength of the analysis, the directional relationship between women's rights and good governance did not receive adequate attention. Does government, with elements of good governance, protect women's rights? Or does women's presence in the areas of governance lead to good governance? The above analysis suggests that researchers of MENA region and gender studied extensively Islam, traditions, and economy in relation to women's rights violations, but they did not study poor governance, as defined by World Bank & UNESCAP, in relation to gender which may be relevant to understanding and potentially eliminating violations committed against women. Therefore, it would be useful to pay greater consideration to documenting country-specific cases on gender and poor governance in this region to highlight and compare the outcomes. This paper seeks to shed light on the general connection between poor governance and gender inequality in the Middle East and North Africa using Saudi Arabia as a case study. This research argues that governments with 'poor governance' do not perform an adequate job of

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<sup>73</sup> Anne-Marie Goetz, "Political Cleaners: How Women are the New Anti-Corruption Force. Does the Evidence Wash?" (2003) <http://www.u4.no/recommended-reading/political-cleaners-how-women-are-the-new-anti-corruption-force-does-the-evidence-wash/> (accessed November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013); Hung-En Sung, "Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption Revisited," *Social Forces* 82: 2 (2003): 703–723.

protecting women's rights. The present paper with its investigation of linkage between gender discrimination and quality of Saudi government may contribute to the literature on MENA women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women's rights through advancing good governance and democracy in the region.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The analysis presented here is based on two data sources developed by researchers at the World Economic Forum and World Bank. The Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) established by World Economic Forum (WEF) sought to capture the scope of gender inequalities in economy, education, health and politics across countries, and trace their progress over time. This index calculated gaps instead of levels, measured gaps in outcome instead of input variables, and ranked states in relation to gender equality instead of women's empowerment. The GGG index was divided into four main sub-indices with fourteen indicators that generated them.<sup>74</sup> When computing sub-index scores, average indicators were weighted within every sub-index.<sup>75</sup> For calculating the overall GGGI score, the un-weighted average of every sub-index score was used. Along with converting data into female/male ratios, the index deployed two types of scales: negative-positive scale for measuring gap size and direction, and one-sided scale for computing how near females are to reaching equality with males.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> See Table 4 in the appendix for detailed information on indicators and their sources.

<sup>75</sup> Sub-index score ranges from 0 (inequality) to 1 (equality).

<sup>76</sup> The World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2012*, 3-6

The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) introduced by World Bank researchers sought to evaluate outcomes of governance in three specific clusters: (1) political cluster: procedure of choosing, monitoring and replacing governments; (2) economic cluster: effective policy formulation & implementation, and provision of public services; and (3) institutional cluster: respect for institutions that regulate interactions between the state and nationals. The WGI captured six dimensions of governance for 215 states during the time period from 1996 through 2012 allowing researchers to make broad cross-country and over-time comparisons. These dimensions were voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence/terrorism, government effectiveness, corruption control, rule of law and regulatory quality. Each dimension represented an aggregate indicator created by averaging data sources. These data sources consisted of cross-country surveys of individuals, and experts' assessments from commercial risk rating agencies, NGOs, think tanks, and multilateral organizations on quality of governance.<sup>77</sup>

The individual indicators were first rescaled to run from 0 to 1 with greater values representing better outcomes. Then, for aggregation and comparability purposes, an Unobserved Components Model (UCM) was used to create a weighted average of the rescaled data from every source for every state.<sup>78</sup> The governance estimates produced by the UCM ranged from -2.5 to 2.5, with greater values representing better governance.<sup>79</sup> The data were also reported in percentile rank ranging from 0 (lowest value) to 100 (highest value). In terms of uncertainty and imprecision, standard errors for governance

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<sup>77</sup> See Table 5 in the appendix for detailed information on indicators and their sources.

<sup>78</sup> The model provides an estimate of uncertainty of margins of error.

<sup>79</sup> With a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

scores were reported for all countries. These errors were determined by the number of available sources for each country, and the degree to which these sources were in agreement with each other. Therefore, the greater the agreement among data sources, the smaller the standard errors.<sup>80</sup> Even though researchers drew attention to errors associated with governance estimates,<sup>81</sup> they argued that, compared to individual sources, the Worldwide Governance Indicators are sufficiently more informative in measuring the underlying concept due to aggregation of information from various sources for many countries.<sup>82</sup>

My approach is to analyze quantitatively the data of Saudi Arabia in order to demonstrate a general understanding of the relationship between poor governance and gender inequality in the MENA region, and to show that MENA governments with ‘poor governance’ do not perform an adequate job of protecting women’s rights. Limiting my research to the selection of one country poses a weakness in relation to generalizability: to what extent can we generalize the findings of this study to other Middle Eastern and North African countries? On the other hand, what makes Saudi Arabia an interesting country-case is that, while the country represents a typical case to some sub-regions, it also represents an outlier case with respects to other sub-regions in Middle East and North Africa. In this paper, I present the findings of governance and gender gap indices for Saudi Arabia. Tables, bar charts, and time-series graphs are used to illustrate results

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<sup>80</sup> Kaufmann et al, “*Worldwide Governance Indicators*.”

<sup>81</sup> Researchers advised to be cautious when comparing data over time and across countries of these indicators due to changes in the underlying survey data as well as methodology, but more importantly because of the wide and overlap confidence intervals involved.

<sup>82</sup> Daniel Kaufmann, Aart Kraay and Massimo Mastruzzi, *Governance Matters VIII: Aggregate and Individual Governance Indicators, 1996-2008* (World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, 2009). See examples of other studies that deployed the indicators as explanatory variables: Eric Neumayer, “*Is Good Governance Rewarded?*”; and George Clarke and Scott J. Wallsten, “Has the internet increased trade? Developed and developing country evidence,” *Economic Inquiry* 44.3 (2006): 465-484.

of the study. Focusing on 2012 findings, the analysis also covers previous years for governance (1996-2011) and gender gap estimates (2006-2011).

## **OPERATIONALIZATION OF GOVERNANCE**

To operationalize the concept of governance, I will use the following aggregate indicators that cover key attributes of governance:<sup>83</sup>

- Voice and Accountability (WGI VA): protection of civil liberties and political rights, respect for public participation in policy-making process, and transparency in state decisions.
- Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism (WGI PV): government stability, and absence of political tension and social unrest.
- Government Effectiveness (WGI GE): efficiency and quality of state decisions, policy implementation and public services.
- Regulatory Quality (WGI QR): promotion of private sector development through formulation and implementation of sound policies and procedures.
- Rule of Law (WGI RL): effectiveness and independence of judicial system, confidence in government's institutions in particular the courts and the police, contract enforceability, and respect for law and order.
- Control of Corruption (WGI CC): the extent to which the government is controlled by elites and private interests, as well as the degree to which government officials exercise their power for personal gain, this includes both bureaucratic and political corruption.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> See Table 1



For this research, poor governance is measured by low scores in voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and corruption control.

**Table 1. Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI)**

Major Components	Governance Indicator	Represented Measures
Selection, Monitoring and Replacement of Government	Voice and Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Freedom of belief, expression, media, association, mobility</li> <li>• Participation in fair and free elections</li> <li>• Respect for minority rights</li> <li>• Transparency in decision-making process</li> </ul>
	Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of civil riot, revolution, war</li> <li>• Lack of political assassinations</li> <li>• Lack of violent protests</li> <li>• Lack of terrorist attacks and religious/ethnic conflict</li> </ul>
Effective Policy Formulation & Implementation, and Provision of Public Services	Government Effectiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quality of public schools, healthcare system, and transportation infrastructure</li> <li>• Quality of bureaucracy and administration</li> <li>• Effectiveness in obtaining essential services (passport, driving license, electricity...etc.)</li> <li>• Consistent implementation of policies and strategies</li> </ul>
	Regulatory Quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of discriminatory taxes</li> <li>• Lack of trade barriers</li> <li>• Simplicity in establishing a business</li> <li>• Absence of price controls</li> </ul>
Respect for Institutions that regulate state-citizen relations	Rule of Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of common and organized crime</li> <li>• Fair and independent judiciary</li> <li>• Enforcement of contracts</li> </ul>
	Control of Corruption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Absence of irregular payment, bribery and corruption</li> <li>• Absence of non-transparency, private interests and nepotism</li> </ul>

Source: Kaufmann et al, “*Worldwide Governance Indicators*.”

<sup>84</sup> Kaufmann et al, “*Worldwide Governance Indicators*.”

## RESULTS

### *Governance Estimates*

The performance of Saudi Arabia was quantified on an WGI index which ranged from -2.5 to 2.5, where higher values reflect better governance. The six main fields measured for the index were: ‘voice and accountability’ (based on 12 indicators), ‘political stability’, ‘government effectiveness’, ‘regulatory quality’ (7 indicators), ‘rule of law’ (11 indicators), and ‘corruption control’ (8 indicators).

**Table 2. Saudi Arabia Governance Scores, 2012**

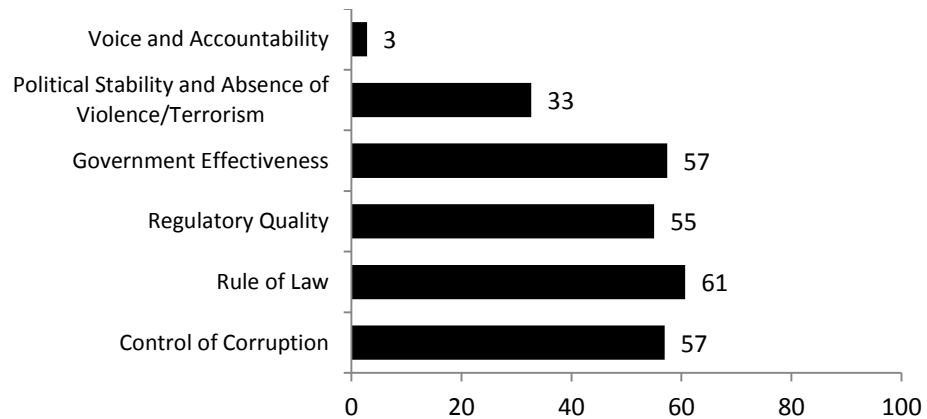
	Governance Score	Standard Error	Number of Sources
Voice and Accountability	-1.80	0.12	12
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism	-0.46	0.23	7
Government Effectiveness	0.03	0.22	7
Regulatory Quality	0.10	0.23	7
Rule of Law	0.24	0.16	11
Control of Corruption	-0.06	0.18	8

*Source:* Kaufmann et al, “*Worldwide Governance Indicators.*”

Across all dimensions, Saudi Arabia performed poorly in ‘voice and accountability’, ‘political stability’ and ‘corruption control’ with scores of -1.80, -0.46 and -0.06, respectively (see Table 2). Although Saudi Arabia improved marginally in ‘government effectiveness’ and ‘regulatory quality’, it showed no progress in ‘rule of law’ and even a slight decline in ‘voice and accountability’ and ‘political stability’ over the past 16 years (see Tables 6 to 10). In 2012, Saudi Arabia was among the worst-governed countries in the world in the ‘voice and accountability’ category, with a

percentile rank of 3. It was also ranked in the bottom half of the Index for ‘political stability’ category (see Figure 1).<sup>85</sup>

**Figure 1. Saudi Arabia Percentile Ranking, 2012**



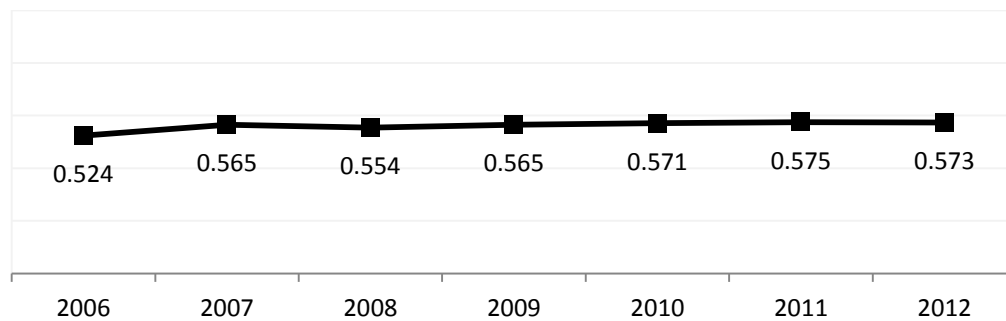
*Source: Kaufmann et al, “Worldwide Governance Indicators.”*

#### *Gender Gap Estimates*

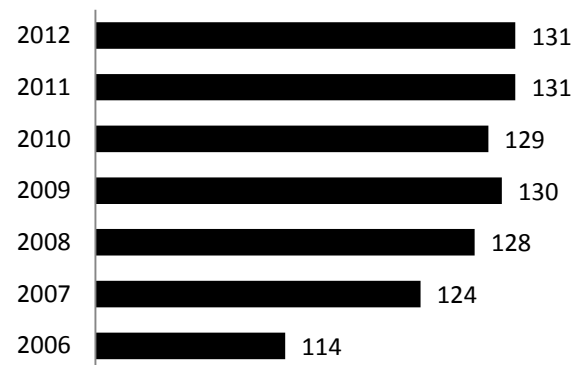
Figure 2 shows Saudi Arabia overall scores in Gender Gap Index from 2006-2012, with 0 representing inequality and 1 representing equality. Even though Saudi Arabia witnessed a slight increase in its scores in the year 2007, and from 2009 through 2011, it slipped back twice in 2008 and 2012, with scores of 0.554 and 0.573, respectively. Since 2006, Saudi Arabia was among the five bottom-ranked countries in gender parity. In 2012, Saudi Arabia was the fifth worst country in the world, holding 131<sup>st</sup> place among 135 countries (see Figure 3).

<sup>85</sup> Percentile rank ranging from 0 (lowest value) to 100 (highest value).

**Figure 2. Saudi Arabia Score in Gender Gap Index, 2006-2012**



**Figure 3. Saudi Arabia Rank in Gender Gap Index, 2006-2012**



*Source: The World Economic Forum, The Global Gender Gap Report 2012, 304-305*

The below table illustrates Saudi Arabia's ranking and scores in four sub-indexes for the year 2012. For educational attainment, Saudi women had better access to education as they moved from primary to post-secondary education. Even though Saudi Arabia achieved highest scores for females enrolment in secondary and tertiary studies, comparisons between the literacy rates as well as primary education of males and females placed Saudi Arabia in 101<sup>st</sup> and 98<sup>th</sup> positions, respectively. In addition, Saudi Arabia received high scores in women's healthy life expectancy (1.05) and sex ratio at birth

(0.94),<sup>86</sup> awarding the country 55<sup>th</sup> place (out of 135 countries) in the overall health and survival category.

**Table 3. Saudi Arabia Gender Gap Sub-indexes, 2012**

	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Score</b>
<b>Educational Attainment</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>0.976</b>
Literacy rate	101	0.90
Enrolment in primary education	98	0.99
Enrolment in secondary education	1	1.00
Enrolment in tertiary education	1	1.00
<b>Health and Survival</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>0.976</b>
Sex ratio at birth (female/male)	1	0.94
Healthy life expectancy	65	1.05
<b>Economic Participation and Opportunity</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>0.340</b>
Labor force participation	132	0.27
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	94	0.62
Estimated earned income (PPP US\$)	132	0.17
Legislators, senior officials and managers	109	0.08
Professional and technical workers	102	0.38
<b>Political Empowerment</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>0.000</b>
Women in parliament	131	0.00
Women in ministerial positions	125	0.00
Years with female head of state (last 50 years)*	58	0.00

\*Note: number of female heads of state over the last 50 years

Source: The World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2012*, 304-305

In addition, Saudi Arabia was ranked as the third worst country in women's economic participation and opportunity, with an overall rank of 133. More specifically, Saudi Arabia was considered unequal in its employment of males and females for workforce, the relative salaries earned by two groups, and women's appointment in high-ranking positions, with scores of 0.27, 0.17, and 0.08, respectively. In terms of equal wages for similar job, Saudi Arabia performed better with a rank of 94. As for political

<sup>86</sup> Donates the number of boys born alive per 100 girls.

empowerment, Saudi women remained fully excluded from political and decision-making positions. None of the Saudi women were appointed or elected in consultative assembly, ministerial and presidential positions. As a result, Saudi Arabia was ranked last in this sub-index, last year (see Table 3).

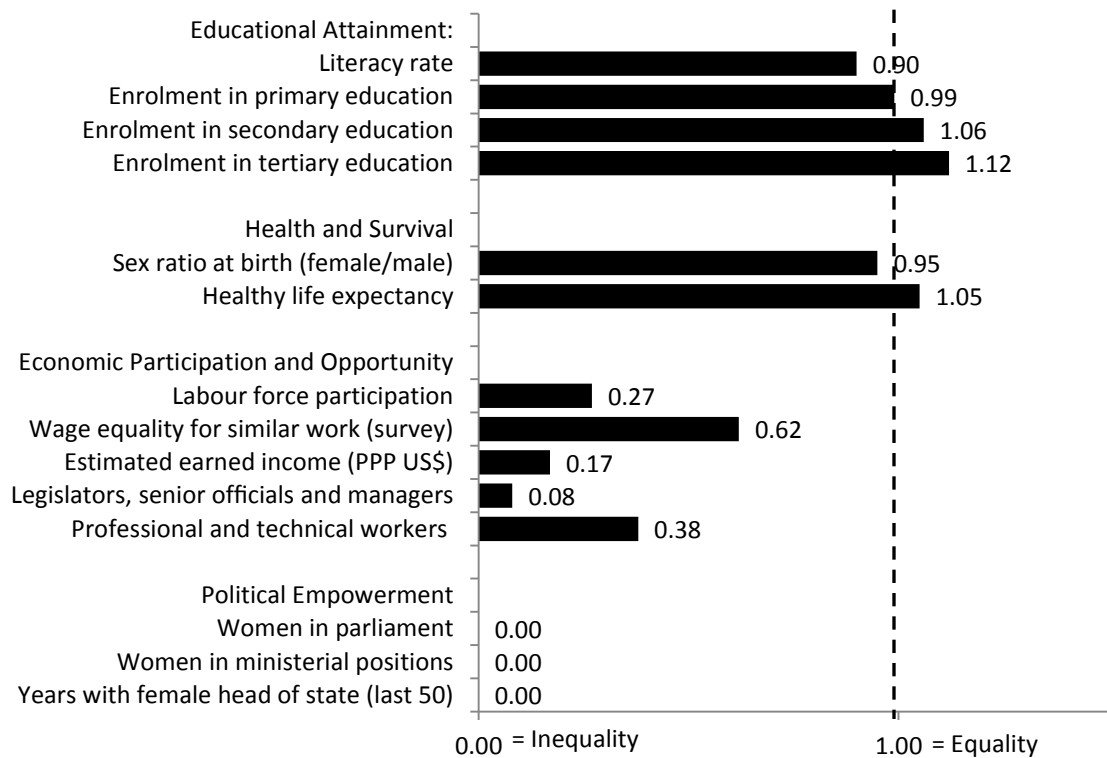
Figure 4 displays the female-to-male ratio for sub-indexes and their individual variables. Value 1 or above (equality benchmark) prefer females while values under 1 prefer males. Overall, the gender gap for political empowerment and economic participation were greater compared to health & survival and educational attainment. The largest gap between sexes can be found in the political empowerment sub-index since Saudi women were entirely excluded from the political and decision-making spheres. In addition, Saudi Arabia had low proportions of females to males in labor force (22:82), managerial (7:93) and technical (28:72) positions. While Saudi men earned approximately \$38,856 per year, Saudi women earned \$6,652 (see Table 12).<sup>87</sup> The results also revealed that Saudi Arabia achieved full equality in health and survival. However, gender gap in educational attainment varied marginally by levels of attainment.<sup>88</sup> Saudi Arabia reached gender parity in primary, secondary and post-secondary educational attainment, with female-to-male ratios of 0.99, 1.06 and 1.12, respectively. On the other hand, Saudi females had slightly lower literacy rates compared to their male counterparts.

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<sup>87</sup> Annual earned income adjusted for PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) in US Dollars.

<sup>88</sup> The equality benchmark for life expectancy is 1.06 and 0.944 for sex ratio at birth.

**Figure 4. Female-To-Male Ratio on Gender Gap Sub-indexes, 2012**



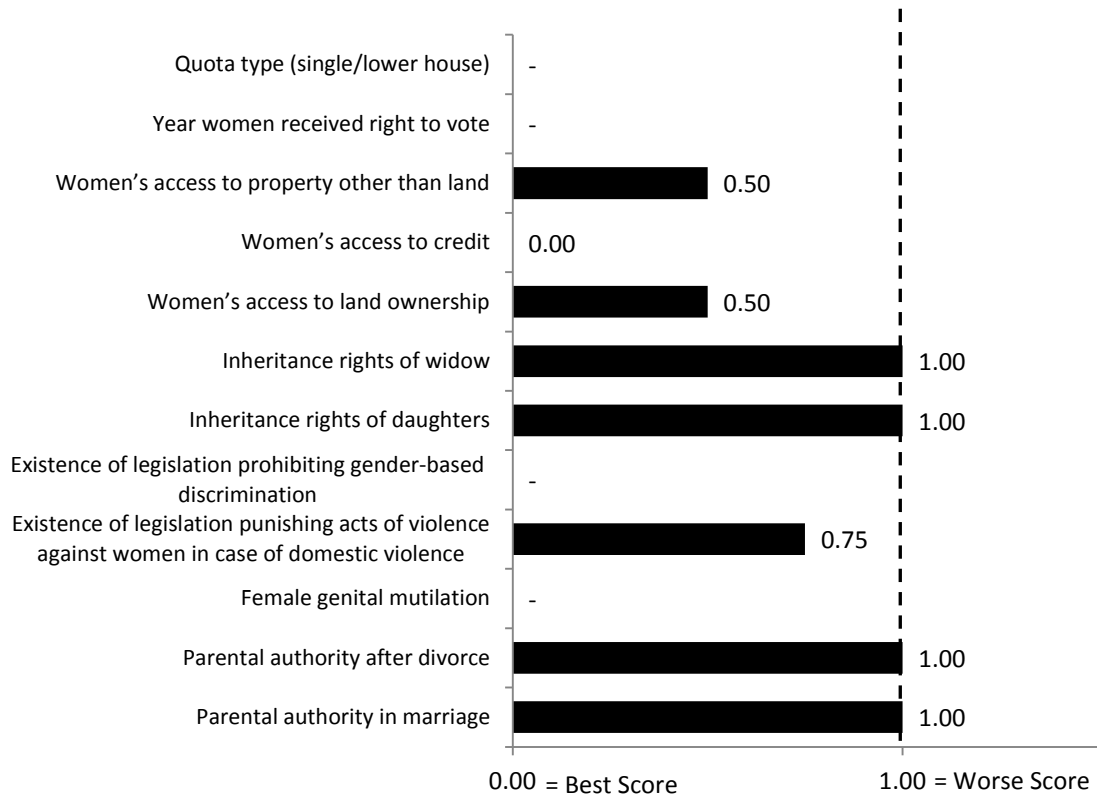
Source: The World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2012*, 304-305

While Saudi Arabia received the best score (0.00) in females' access to credit, the country also obtained the worst score (1.00) in inheritance rights of daughters and widows as well as parental authority in marriage, and after divorce.<sup>89</sup> In addition, Saudi Arabia scored poorly in formulation of laws punishing violence committed against women (0.75), and females' access to land ownership (0.50) & other properties (0.50). There was no information available on whether or not female genital mutilation still exists in the country. Similarly, data on the year females gained right to vote and quota

<sup>89</sup> Scores are on 0 to 1 scale, with 0 representing best score and 1 representing worst score.

type<sup>90</sup> were not provided, due to the fact that up till now Saudi women did not receive voting and running for public office rights (see Figure 5).<sup>91</sup>

**Figure 5. Social Institutions and Rights in Saudi Arabia, 2012**



Source: The World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2012*, 304-305

## CONCLUSION

In this paper I have reviewed the existing literature on current status of women and root causes of gender-based discrimination in this region. Then I have defined the concepts of governance and good governance, and reviewed arguments in favor of a relationship between good governance and human & women's rights. Next, I have described the research methods and study findings. Given the scarcity of research on

<sup>90</sup> Single or lower house

<sup>91</sup> Information on the existence of laws banning gender-based prejudice was not available.



good governance and gender inequality in the Middle East and North Africa region, I have examined indices of good governance and gender gap in Saudi Arabia with the hope of finding a potential linkage between quality of governance and status of women.

The results presented here from World Economic Forum and World Bank contributed to understanding of the general connection between poor governance and women's inequality. They revealed that, generally, Saudi Arabian poor governance was associated with having gender inequalities in the country. More specifically, Saudi Arabia was characterized as less stable, responsive, accountable, fair, efficient and effective government. As for women's inequality, although there were no major gender differences with respect to educational attainment and health & survival, significant gender gaps were found in economic participation and political empowerment. Saudi women were also discriminated against when it came to attainment of basic rights such as equal inheritance, voting and running for public office rights. Overall, the findings showed that Saudi Arabia performed poorly in both Worldwide Governance Indicators and Global Gender Gap Index over the years. This research suggests that governments with 'poor governance' do not perform an adequate job of protecting women's rights. In investigating the linkage between gender discrimination and quality of Saudi government, this research might contribute to the literature on MENA women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women's rights through advancing good governance and democracy in the region.

However, the results discussed were largely based on last year's data, they did not provide an in-depth analysis of time-series data and insights into causation. One possible

difficulty in explaining these findings relates to the direction of causality. Does government, with elements of good governance, protect women's rights? Or does women's presence in the areas of governance lead to good governance? We need to be cautious when discussing causal relationship between good governance and gender equality. It's important to note that other variables such as country's religion, traditions and economy influence both government's quality and gender equality. Considering this influence in hand, we also acknowledge that there is a relationship between good governance and gender equality. Both variables are closely related to each other and form virtuous circle. Meaning that, as governments become more stable, responsive, accountable, fair, efficient and effective government, it will be impossible for them to modernize and democratize their governments without the expansion of women's rights. As women become increasingly represented in the areas of governance, they will further promote the liberalization of their governments. It is therefore necessary to empirically test the causal and directional relationship through regression analysis between good governance and gender equality while holding other variables constant.

Moreover, this paper raises a question about external validity of the findings. Can these findings be generalized to other Middle Eastern and North African countries? As I argued earlier, Saudi Arabia was an interesting country-case to examine as it represented a typical case to some countries, and an outlier case with respects to others countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Yet, in order to further test the proposed theory, there is a clear need to use replication logic in several country-case studies in the MENA region. Using multiple country-case studies will assist us in testing the theory through comparing and contrasting different cases.

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## APPENDIX

This table is reproduced from the 2012 Global Gender Gap Index report.

**Table 4. Structure of the Global Gender Gap Index**

Sub-index	Variable	Source
Economic Participation and Opportunity	Ratio: female labor force participation over male value	International Labor Organization, Key Indicators of the Labor Market (KILM), 2009
	Wage equality between women and men for similar work (converted to female-over-male ratio)	World Economic Forum, Executive Opinion Survey (EOS), 2012
	Ratio: female estimated earned income over male value	World Economic Forum, calculations based on the United Nations Development Programme methodology (refer to Human Development Report 2009)
	Ratio: female legislators, senior officials and managers over male value	International Labor Organization, LABORSTA Internet, online database, 2008 or latest data available; United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2009, the most recent year available between 1999 and 2007
Educational Attainment	Ratio: female professional and technical workers over male value	International Labor Organization, LABORSTA Internet, online database, 2008 or latest data available; United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2009, the most recent year available between 1999 and 2007
	Ratio: female literacy rate over male value	UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Education Indicators, 2011 or latest data available; World Bank's World Development Indicators & Global Development Finance online Database, 2010 or latest available data; United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2009, the most recent year available between 1997 and 2007
	Ratio: female net primary enrolment rate over male value	UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Education Indicators, 2011 or latest data available; World Bank's World Development Indicators & Global Development Finance online database, 2011 or latest available data
	Ratio: female net secondary enrolment rate over male value	UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Education Indicators, 2011 or latest data available; World Bank's World Development Indicators & Global Development Finance online database,

		2011 or latest available data
	Ratio: female gross tertiary enrolment ratio over male value	UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Education Indicators, 2011 or latest data available; World Bank's World Development Indicators & Global development Finance online database, 2011 or latest available data
Health and Survival	Sex ratio at birth (converted to female-over-male ratio)	Central Intelligence Agency, The CIA World Factbook, data updated weekly, 2012
	Ratio: female healthy life expectancy over male value	World Health Organization, Global Health Observatory database, data from 2007
Political Empowerment	Ratio: females with seats in parliament over male value	Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in Politics: 2012, reflecting elections/appointments up to 1 January 2012
	Ratio: females at ministerial level over male value	Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in Politics: 2012, reflecting appointments up to 1 January 2012; data updated every two years
	Ratio: number of years of a female head of state (last 50 years) over male value	World Economic Forum calculations, 30 June 2012

These tables are reproduced from Kaufmann et al.<sup>92</sup>

**Table 5. Components for Aggregate Governance Indicators**

<b>Indicators for Voice and Accountability</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Democracy Index Vested interests Accountability of Public Officials Human Rights Freedom of association
Freedom House	Freedom in the World	Political Rights Civil Liberties Press Freedom Index Media Civil Society Electoral Process
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Transparency of government policymaking Freedom of the Press Favoritism in Decisions of Government Officials Effectiveness of Law-Making Body
Gallup	Gallup World Poll	Confidence in honesty of elections
State Department / Amnesty International	Human Rights Dataset	Restrictions on domestic and foreign travel Freedom of political participation Imprisonments because of ethnicity, race, or political, religious beliefs Freedom of Speech
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Freedom of elections at national level Are electoral processes flawed? Do the representative Institutions (e.g. parliament) operate in accordance with the formal rules in force (e.g. Constitution)? Freedom of the Press (freedom of access to information, protection of journalists, etc.) Freedom of Association Freedom of assembly, demonstration Respect for the rights and freedoms of minorities (ethnic, religious, linguistic, immigrants...) Is the report produced by the IMF under Article IV published? Reliability of State budget (completeness, credibility, performance...) Reliability of State accounts (completeness, audit, review law...) Reliability of State-owned firms' accounts Reliability of basic economic and financial statistics (e.g. national accounts, price indices, foreign trade, currency and credit, etc.).

<sup>92</sup> Kaufmann et al, "Worldwide Governance Indicators."

		Reliability of State-owned banks' accounts Is the State economic policy (e.g. budgetary, fiscal, etc.)... communicated? Is the State economic policy (e.g. budgetary, fiscal, etc.)... publicly debated? Degree of transparency in public procurement Freedom to leave the country (i.e. passports, exit visas, etc.) Freedom of entry for foreigners (excluding citizens of countries under agreements on free movement, e.g. Schengen Area, etc.) Freedom of movement for nationals around the world Genuine Media Pluralism Freedom of access, navigation and publishing on Internet
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Military in politics Democratic accountability
Reporters Without Borders	Reporters Without Borders	Press Freedom Index
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	Institutional permanence: An assessment of how mature and well-established the political system is. It is also an assessment of how far political opposition operates within the system or attempts to undermine it from outside. Representativeness: How well the population and organized interests can make their voices heard in the political system. Provided representation is handled fairly and effectively, it will ensure greater stability and better designed policies.
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Afrobarometer	Afrobarometer Survey	How much do you trust the parliament? Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? Free and fair elections
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	Political Participation Stability of Democratic Institutions Political and Social Integration
Freedom House	Countries at the Crossroads	Civil Liberties Accountability and public voice
Global Integrity	Global Integrity Index	Civil Society Organizations Media Public Access to Information Voting & Citizen Participation Election Integrity Political Financing
International Fund for Agricultural Development	Rural Sector Performance Assessment	Policy and legal framework for rural organizations Dialogue between government and rural organizations
Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy	Africa Electoral index	Africa Electoral index
Latinobarometro	Surveys Latinobarometro	Satisfaction with democracy Trust in Parliament

International Research and Exchanges Board	Media Sustainability Index	Media Sustainability Index
International Budget Partnership	Open Budget Index	Open Budget Index
Vanderbilt University	Americas Barometer	Trust in parliament Satisfaction with democracy
Institute for Management and Development	World Competitiveness Yearbook	Transparency of government policy
The World Justice Project	Factor 1: Limited Government Powers Factor 4: Fundamental Rights	Factor 1: Limited Government Powers Factor 4: Fundamental Rights
<b>Indicators for Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Orderly transfers Armed conflict Violent demonstrations Social Unrest International tensions / terrorist threat
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Cost of Terrorism
State Department / Amnesty International	Human Rights Dataset	Frequency of political killings Frequency of disappearances Frequency of tortures Political terror scale
IJET Travel Intelligence	Country Security Risk Assessment	Security Risk Rating
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Intensity of internal conflicts: ethnic, religious or regional Intensity of violent activities...of underground political organizations Intensity of social conflicts (excluding conflicts relating to land)
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Government stability Internal conflict External conflict Ethnic tensions
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	Civil unrest: How widespread political unrest is, and how great a threat it poses to investors. Demonstrations in themselves may not be cause for concern, but they will cause major disruption if they escalate into severe violence. At the extreme, this factor would amount to civil war. Terrorism: Whether the country suffers from a sustained terrorist threat, and from how many sources. The degree of localization of the threat is assessed, and whether the active groups are likely to target or affect businesses.
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Institute for	World	The risk of political instability is very high

Management and Development	Competitiveness Yearbook	
The World Justice Project	The World Justice Project	Factor 3.2: Civil conflict is effectively limited (Order and Security)
<b>Indicators for Government Effectiveness</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Quality of bureaucracy / institutional effectiveness Excessive bureaucracy / red tape
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Infrastructure Quality of primary education
Gallup	Gallup World Poll	Satisfaction with public transportation system Satisfaction with roads and highways Satisfaction with education system
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Coverage area: public school Coverage area: basic health services Coverage area: drinking water and sanitation Coverage area: electricity grid Coverage area: transport infrastructure Coverage area: maintenance and waste disposal
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Bureaucratic quality
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	Bureaucracy : An assessment of the quality of the country's bureaucracy. The better the bureaucracy the quicker decisions are made and the more easily foreign investors can go about their business. Policy consistency and forward planning: How confident businesses can be of the continuity of economic policy stance - whether a change of government will entail major policy disruption, and whether the current government has pursued a coherent strategy. This factor also looks at the extent to which policy-making is far-sighted, or conversely aimed at short-term economic advantage.
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
African Development Bank	African Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Quality of public administration Quality of budgetary and financial management Efficiency of revenue mobilization
Afrobarometer	Afrobarometer survey	Government handling of public services Health Education
Asian Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Quality of public administration Efficiency of revenue mobilization Quality of budgetary & financial management
World Bank	Business Enterprise Environment Survey	How problematic are telecommunications for the growth of your business ? How problematic is electricity for the growth of your business? How problematic is transportation for the growth of your business?
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	Consensus Building Governance Capability

		Resource Efficiency
International Fund for Agricultural Development	Rural Sector Performance Assessment	Allocation & management of public resources for rural development
Latinobarometro	Latinobarometro Surveys	Trust in Government
World Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Quality of public administration Quality of budgetary and financial management Efficiency of revenue mobilization
Institute for Management and Development	World Competitiveness Yearbook	Government economic policies do not adapt quickly to changes in the economy The public service is not independent from political interference Government decisions are not effectively implemented Bureaucracy hinders business activity The distribution infrastructure of goods and services is generally inefficient Policy direction is not consistent
<b>Indicators for Regulatory Quality</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Unfair competitive practices Price controls Discriminatory tariffs Excessive protections Discriminatory taxes
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Burden of government regulations Extent and effect of taxation Prevalence of Trade Barriers Intensity of Local Competition Ease of starting a new business Effectiveness of anti-trust policy Stringency of environmental regulations
Heritage Foundation	Economic Freedom Index	Investment Freedom Financial Freedom
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Ease of starting a business governed by local law? Ease of setting up a subsidiary for a foreign firm? Share of administered prices Does the State subsidize commodity prices (i.e. food and other essential goods, excluding oil)? Does the State subsidize the price of petrol at the pumps? Importance, de facto, of barriers to entry for new competitors in markets for goods and services (excluding the financial sector and beyond the narrow constraints of the market)... related to the administration (red tape etc.) Importance, de facto, of barriers to entry for new competitors in markets for goods and services (excluding finance and beyond the narrow constraints of the market)... related to the practices of already established competitors Efficiency of competition regulation in the market sector (excluding financial sector)
International	Political Risk Services	Investment profile

Country Risk Guide		
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	Legislation An assessment of whether the necessary business laws are in place, and whether there any outstanding gaps. This includes the extent to which the country's legislation is compatible with, and respected by, other countries' legal systems.
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
African Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Trade policy Business regulatory environment
Asian Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Trade policy Business regulatory environment
World Bank	Business Enterprise Environment Survey	How problematic are labor regulations for the growth of your business? How problematic are tax regulations for the growth of your business? How problematic are customs and trade regulations for the growth of your business?
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	Organization of the Market and Competition
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	Transition Report	Price liberalization Trade & foreign exchange system Competition policy
International Fund for Agricultural Development	Rural Sector Performance Assessment	Investment climate for rural businesses Access to agricultural input and product markets
World Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Business regulatory environment Trade policy
Institute for Management and Development	World Competitiveness Yearbook	Protectionism in the country negatively affects the conduct of business Competition legislation in your country does not prevent unfair competition Price controls affect pricing of products in most industries Access to capital markets (foreign and domestic) is easily available Ease of doing business is not a competitive advantage for your country Financial institutions' transparency is not widely developed in your country Customs' authorities do not facilitate the efficient transit of goods The legal framework is detrimental to your country's competitiveness Foreign investors are free to acquire control in domestic companies Public sector contracts are sufficiently open to foreign bidders Real personal taxes are non-distortionary Real corporate taxes are non-distortionary Banking regulation does not hinder competitiveness Regulatory quality captures perceptions of the ability of



		the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development. This table lists the individual variables from each data sources used to construct this measure in the Worldwide Governance Indicators Labor regulations hinder business activities Subsidies impair economic development Easy to start a business
The World Justice Project	The World Justice Project	Factor 6: Regulatory Enforcement
<b>Indicators for Rule of Law</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Violent crime Organized crime Fairness of judicial process Enforceability of contracts Speediness of judicial process Confiscation/expropriation Intellectual property rights protection Private property protection
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Business Cost of Crime and Violence Cost of Organized Crime Reliability of Police Services Judicial Independence Efficiency of Legal Framework for Challenging Regulations IPR protection Property Rights Informal Sector
Gallup	Gallup World Poll	Confidence in the police force Confidence in judicial system Have you had money property stolen from you or another household member? Have you been assaulted or mugged?
Heritage Foundation	Economic Freedom Index	Property Rights
State Depart/ Amnesty International	Human Rights Dataset	Independence of judiciary
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Degree of security of goods and persons by criminal organizations (drug trafficking, weapons, prostitution...) Degree of judicial independence vis-à-vis the State Degree of enforcement of court orders Timeliness of judicial decisions Equal treatment of foreigners before the law (compared to nationals) Practical ability of the administration to limit tax evasion Efficiency of the legal means to protect property rights in the event of conflict between private stakeholders? Generally speaking, does the State exercise arbitrary pressure on private property (e.g. red tape...)? Does the State pay compensation equal to the loss in

		<p>cases of expropriation (by law or fact) when the expropriation concerns land ownership?</p> <p>Does the State pay compensation equal to the loss in cases of expropriation (by law or fact) when the expropriation concerns production means?</p> <p>Degree of observance of contractual terms between national private stakeholders</p> <p>Degree of observance of contractual terms between national and foreign private stakeholders</p> <p>In the past 3 years, has the State withdrawn from contracts without paying the corresponding compensation... vis-à-vis national stakeholders?</p> <p>In the past 3 years, has the State withdrawn from contracts without paying the corresponding compensation... vis-à-vis foreign stakeholders?</p> <p>Respect for intellectual property rights relating to... trade secrets and industrial patents</p> <p>Respect for intellectual property rights relating to... industrial counterfeiting</p> <p>Does the State recognize formally the diversity of land tenure system?</p>
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Law and Order
State Department	Trafficking in People Report	Trafficking in People
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	<p>Judicial Independence An assessment of how far the state and other outside actors can influence and distort the legal system. This will determine the level of legal impartiality investors can expect.</p> <p>Crime How much of a threat businesses face from crime such as kidnapping, extortion, street violence, burglary and so on. These problems can cause major inconvenience for foreign investors and require them to take expensive security precautions.</p>
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
African Development Bank	African Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Property rights and rule based governance
Afrobarometer	Afrobarometer Survey	<p>Over the past year, how often have you or anyone in your family feared crime in your own home?</p> <p>Over the past year, how often have you or anyone in your family had something stolen from your house?</p> <p>Over the past year, how often have you or anyone in your family been physically attacked?</p> <p>How much do you trust the courts of law?</p> <p>Trust in police</p>
Asian Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Property rights and rule based governance
World Bank	Business Enterprise Environment Survey	<p>How often is following characteristic associated with the court system: Fair and honest?</p> <p>How often is following characteristic associated with the court system: Enforceable?</p>

		How often is following characteristic associated with the court system: Quick? How problematic is crime for the growth of your business? How problematic is judiciary for the growth of your business?
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	Separation of powers Independent Judiciary Civil rights
Freedom House	Countries at the Crossroads	Rule of Law
Freedom House	Freedom in the World	Judicial framework and independence
Global Integrity	Global Integrity Index	Executive Accountability Judicial Accountability Rule of Law Law Enforcement
International Fund for Agricultural Development	Rural Sector Performance Assessment	Access to land Access to water for agriculture
Latinobarometro	Latinobarometro Surveys	Trust in Judiciary Trust in Police Have you been a victim of crime?
World Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Property rights and rule based governance
Vanderbilt University	Americas Barometer	Trust in supreme court Trust in justice system Trust in police Have you been a victim of crime?
Institute for Management and Development	World Competitiveness Yearbook	Tax evasion is a common practice in your country Justice is not fairly administered in society Personal security and private property are not adequately protected Parallel economy impairs economic development in your country Patent and copyright protection is not adequately enforced in your country
The World Justice Project	The World Justice Project	Factor 3.1: Crime is effectively controlled (Order and Security) Factor 7: Civil Justice Factor 8: Criminal Justice
<b>Indicators for Corruption Control</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Corruption among public officials
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Public Trust in Politicians Diversion of Public Funds Irregular Payments in Export and Import Irregular Payments in Public Utilities Irregular payments in tax collection Irregular Payments in Public Contracts Irregular Payments in Judicial Decisions State Capture
Gallup	Gallup World Poll	Is corruption in government widespread?

Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Level of "petty" corruption between administration and citizens Level of corruption between administrations and local businesses Level of corruption between administrations and foreign companies
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Corruption
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	Corruption : An assessment of the intrusiveness of the country's bureaucracy. The amount of red tape likely to countered is assessed, as is the likelihood of encountering corrupt officials and other groups.
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
African Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Transparency, accountability and corruption in public sector
Afrobarometer	Afrobarometer Survey	How many elected leaders (parliamentarians) do you think are involved in corruption? How many judges and magistrates do you think are involved in corruption? How many government officials do you think are involved in corruption? How many border/tax officials do you think are involved in corruption?
Asian Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Transparency, accountability and corruption in public sector
World Bank	Business Enterprise Environment Survey	How common is it for firms to have to pay irregular additional payments to get things done? Percentage of total annual sales do firms pay in unofficial payments to public officials? How often do firms make extra payments in connection with taxes, customs, and judiciary? How problematic is corruption for the growth of your business?
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	Anti-Corruption policy Prosecution of office abuse
Freedom House	Countries at the Crossroads	Anti-Corruption and Transparency
Freedom House	Freedom in the World	Corruption
Transparency International	Global Corruption Barometer	Frequency of household bribery - paid a bribe to one of the 8/9 services Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Political parties Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Parliament/Legislature Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Media Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Legal system/Judiciary Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Public officials
Global Integrity	Global Integrity Index	Anti-Corruption Agency

**Table 6. Saudi Arabia Governance Scores and Percentile Ranking for Voice and Accountability, 1996-2012**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Governance Score</b>	<b>Percentile Ranking</b>	<b>Standard Error</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>
1996	-1.41	8.65	0.22	5
1998	-1.53	7.21	0.23	5
2000	-1.48	8.17	0.23	5
2002	-1.66	4.81	0.17	8
2003	-1.67	5.29	0.17	7
2004	-1.31	10.10	0.16	8
2005	-1.52	7.21	0.17	8
2006	-1.70	5.29	0.14	10
2007	-1.62	6.25	0.13	12
2008	-1.65	5.29	0.13	12
2009	-1.78	3.79	0.12	13
2010	-1.74	3.79	0.11	13
2011	-1.86	3.29	0.12	11
2012	-1.80	2.84	0.12	12

*Source: Kaufmann et al, "Worldwide Governance Indicators."*

**Table 7. Saudi Arabia Governance Scores and Percentile Ranking for Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism, 1996-2012**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Governance Score</b>	<b>Percentile Ranking</b>	<b>Standard Error</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>
1996	-0.26	37.50	0.37	4
1998	0.02	46.15	0.34	4
2000	0.11	50.96	0.33	4
2002	-0.09	42.79	0.31	4
2003	0.10	47.60	0.30	4
2004	-0.68	24.04	0.29	5
2005	-0.25	37.50	0.29	5
2006	-0.54	29.33	0.25	6
2007	-0.50	27.88	0.24	7
2008	-0.37	30.62	0.24	7
2009	-0.51	27.96	0.24	7
2010	-0.22	36.79	0.24	7
2011	-0.46	31.60	0.25	6
2012	-0.46	32.70	0.23	7

*Source: Kaufmann et al, "Worldwide Governance Indicators."*

**Table 8. Saudi Arabia Governance Scores and Percentile Ranking for Effectiveness of Government, 1996-2012**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Governance Score</b>	<b>Percentile Ranking</b>	<b>Standard Error</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>
1996	-0.26	46.34	0.25	3
1998	-0.22	47.32	0.22	3
2000	-0.23	46.34	0.24	3
2002	-0.31	44.88	0.19	5
2003	-0.31	44.39	0.21	4
2004	-0.37	44.88	0.23	4
2005	-0.39	40.49	0.21	4
2006	-0.23	46.83	0.24	6
2007	-0.11	51.46	0.22	7
2008	-0.07	52.43	0.22	7
2009	-0.06	52.15	0.22	7
2010	0.03	56.94	0.22	7
2011	-0.32	44.08	0.24	6
2012	0.03	57.42	0.22	7

*Source: Kaufmann et al, "Worldwide Governance Indicators."*

**Table 9. Saudi Arabia Governance Scores and Percentile Ranking for Regulatory Quality, 1996-2012**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Governance Score</b>	<b>Percentile Ranking</b>	<b>Standard Error</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>
1996	-0.15	47.06	0.32	4
1998	-0.20	42.16	0.33	4
2000	-0.07	51.47	0.31	4
2002	-0.06	50.98	0.22	6
2003	0.08	55.88	0.20	5
2004	0.04	55.88	0.21	5
2005	0.11	56.37	0.19	5
2006	-0.06	52.45	0.21	6
2007	0.04	54.37	0.21	7
2008	0.15	55.83	0.21	7
2009	0.18	56.94	0.20	7
2010	0.18	55.98	0.21	7
2011	0.03	53.55	0.21	6
2012	0.10	55.02	0.23	7

*Source: Kaufmann et al, "Worldwide Governance Indicators."*

**Table 10. Saudi Arabia Governance Scores and Percentile Ranking for Rule of Law, 1996-2012**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Governance Score</b>	<b>Percentile Ranking</b>	<b>Standard Error</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>
1996	0.25	58.85	0.21	5
1998	0.21	59.33	0.22	5
2000	-0.04	50.72	0.18	6
2002	0.11	56.46	0.18	8
2003	0.24	59.81	0.20	7
2004	0.13	57.42	0.19	7
2005	0.10	56.46	0.20	7
2006	0.11	55.50	0.18	9
2007	0.19	58.37	0.17	10
2008	0.19	58.17	0.17	10
2009	0.16	59.24	0.16	11
2010	0.26	62.09	0.16	11
2011	0.14	58.69	0.16	10
2012	0.24	60.66	0.16	11

*Source:* Kaufmann et al, “*Worldwide Governance Indicators.*”

**Table 11. Saudi Arabia Governance Scores and Percentile Ranking for Corruption Control, 1996-2012**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Governance Score</b>	<b>Percentile Ranking</b>	<b>Standard Error</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>
1996	-0.64	28.29	0.30	3
1998	-0.69	29.27	0.22	3
2000	-0.42	40.49	0.30	3
2002	0.06	60.00	0.19	4
2003	-0.20	51.22	0.23	4
2004	-0.36	46.34	0.23	4
2005	-0.10	53.17	0.22	4
2006	-0.25	49.27	0.20	5
2007	-0.18	53.88	0.18	6
2008	-0.03	57.77	0.18	7
2009	-0.01	58.85	0.19	8
2010	0.06	59.52	0.19	8
2011	-0.37	44.08	0.19	7
2012	-0.06	56.94	0.18	8

*Source:* Kaufmann et al, “*Worldwide Governance Indicators.*”

**Table 12. Saudi Arabia Gender Gap Sub-indexes by Sex, 2012**

	Female	Male
<b>Educational Attainment</b>		
Literacy rate	81	90
Enrolment in primary education	89	90
Enrolment in secondary education	83	78
Enrolment in tertiary education	39	35
<b>Health and Survival</b>		
Sex ratio at birth (female/male)	-	-
Healthy life expectancy	64	61
<b>Economic Participation and Opportunity</b>		
Labor force participation	22	82
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	-	-
Estimated earned income (PPP US\$)	6,652	38,856
Legislators, senior officials and managers	7	93
Professional and technical workers	28	72
<b>Political Empowerment</b>		
Women in parliament	0	100
Women in ministerial positions	0	100
Years with female head of state (last 50)	0	50

*Source:* The World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2012*, 304-305



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **POOR GOVERNANCE AND GENDER INEQUALITY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

## ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to shed light on the general connection between poor governance and gender inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa. This research argues that governments with ‘poor governance’ do not perform an adequate job of protecting women’s rights. By reporting findings of Worldwide Governance Indicators and Global Gender Gap Index, the results revealed there was a positive, albeit weak, correlation between governance quality and gender fairness in Sub-Saharan Africa. The present paper with its investigation of linkage between gender discrimination and quality of Sub-Saharan Africa governments may contribute to the literature on African women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women’s rights through advancing good governance in the region.

**Key words:** good governance, poor governance, governance, women’s rights, gender inequality, Sub-Saharan Africa.

## INTRODUCTION

International community agreed upon a set of basic principles of women's rights.<sup>93</sup> Yet many governments in less developed countries continue to disregard its fundamental importance by neglecting their commitment and duty to women's rights made by signing and ratifying treaties. High levels of mistreatment of women persist in these regions. The promotion of women's rights is not only an indicator of the understanding of any society's wellbeing but also fundamental to accomplishing United Nations' Millennium Development Goals and Beijing Platform for Action.<sup>94</sup> This paper attempts to provide one possibility for understanding women's rights conditions in Sub-Saharan Africa through the theory of governance. Are governments, with 'good' governance, more likely to protect women's rights while governments, with 'poor' governance, are less likely to do so? To study this hypothesis, this paper addresses the question, to what extent is poor governance linked to gender inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa?

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. I first review the existing literature on the present status of women and root causes of gender inequality in the African region. Second, I briefly explain the concepts of governance and good governance. Then I review arguments in favor of good governance and human and women's rights. The following sections describe the methodology and results of the study. Finally, I conclude with

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<sup>93</sup> CEDAW-- Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. "*Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, January 2013*," [http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/HRIndicators/Ratification/Status\\_CEDAW.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/HRIndicators/Ratification/Status_CEDAW.pdf) (accessed March 2nd, 2014).

<sup>94</sup> United Nations, *2013 The Millennium Development Goals Report* (New York: United Nations, 2013), 18; United Nations, *Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action*, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing: United Nations, 1995), 18-118.

thoughts about the implications of my analysis for a future research on gender and governance.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Status of Women in Sub-Saharan Africa*

In spite of making progress in the status of Sub-Saharan African women, gender inequalities are still prevalent in the region. For example, female circumcision remains widely performed across Sub-Saharan Africa communities.<sup>95</sup> In addition, the majority of African countries tends to have high levels of child marriage with Niger, Chad, Mali and Guinea having the highest child marriage rates in the world.<sup>96</sup> Much of the literature on African women studied the gender disparities in rights such as unrestricted rights to attaining education,<sup>97</sup> receiving reproductive health services,<sup>98</sup> marrying foreign husbands,<sup>99</sup> moving freely,<sup>100</sup> controlling financial services,<sup>101</sup> and accessing land and

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<sup>95</sup> World Health Organization, *Eliminating Female Genital Mutilation: an Interagency Statement: OHCHR, UNAIDS, UNDP, UNECA, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNIFEM, WHO* (Geneva: United Nations, 2008).

<sup>96</sup> United Nations Population Fund, *Marrying Too Young: End Child Marriage* (New York: United Nations Population Fund, 2012).

<sup>97</sup> Annelize Booysen-Wolthers, Frederick Fourie and Lucius Botes, "Changes in the Development Status of Women in South Africa from 1996 to 2001: For the Better or For the Worse?" *Development Southern Africa* 23: 5 (2006): 605-626; Judith Shabaya and Kwadwo Konadu-Agyemang, "Unequal access, unequal participation: some spatial and socio-economic dimensions of the gender gap in education in Africa with special reference to Ghana, Zimbabwe and Kenya," *British Association for International and Comparative Education*, 34:4 (2004): 395-424; The World Bank, *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice*.

<sup>98</sup> Charlotte Watts and Susannah Mayhew, "Reproductive Health Services and Intimate Partner Violence: Shaping a Pragmatic Response In Sub-Saharan Africa," *International Family Planning Perspectives*, 30: 4 (2004): 207-213.

<sup>99</sup> United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), *Women, Nationality and Citizenship* (New York: United Nations, 2003), 12.

<sup>100</sup> United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), *Women, Nationality and Citizenship*, 14-15

<sup>101</sup> Litha Ogana and Doreen Kibuka-Musoke, "Gender and Economic Empowerment in Africa," *OECD Journal*, 1 (2009): 87-125.

properties.<sup>102</sup> Women's experiences of prejudice and abuse in the Sub-Saharan African region were frequently documented by human rights researchers and advocates such as asset inheritance deprivation,<sup>103</sup> employment discrimination,<sup>104</sup> domestic abuse,<sup>105</sup> sexual violence,<sup>106</sup> early and forced marriage,<sup>107</sup> and female genital cutting.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, scholars of gender and politics systematically examined gender disparities in women's political participation and representation at the local and national levels of government in Sub-Saharan African,<sup>109</sup> and Middle Eastern & Northern African countries.<sup>110</sup> Despite high percentages of women's representation in the national parliaments, the percentage of those Sub-Saharan African women who hold powerful political positions remains relatively disproportionate to those of men.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> The World Bank, *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2001)

<sup>103</sup> Amber Peterman, "Widowhood and Asset Inheritance in Sub-Saharan Africa: Empirical Evidence from 15 Countries," *Development Policy Review*, 30: 5 (2012): 543-571

<sup>104</sup> Rachel Rebouche, "Labor, Land, and Women's Rights in Africa: Challenges for the New Protocol on the Rights of Women," *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 19 (2006): 236- 256

<sup>105</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Political Shari'a? Human Rights and Islamic Law in Northern Nigeria* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2004); Rosemary Jolly and Alan Jeeves, "Yes, There are Rights but Sometimes They Don't Work...": Gender Equity, HIV/AIDS, and Democracy in Rural South Africa since 1994," *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines*, 44:3 (2010): 524-551.

<sup>106</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Afraid and Forgotten: Lawlessness, Rape, and Impunity in Western Côte d'Ivoire* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2010); Human Rights Watch, *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence During the Rwandan Genocide and Its Aftermath* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1997).

<sup>107</sup> Human Rights Watch, *No Place for Children: Child Recruitment, Forced Marriage, and Attacks on Schools in Somalia* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2012); United Nations Population Fund, *Marrying Too Young: End Child Marriage*.

<sup>108</sup> World Health Organization, *Eliminating Female Genital Mutilation: an Interagency Statement: OHCHR, UNAIDS, UNDP, UNECA, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNIFEM, WHO*.

<sup>109</sup> Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, "Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance: Gender and Development in the Twenty-First Century," in *Gender and Development*, 11: 3 (2003): 45-56.

<sup>110</sup> Amal Sabbagh, "The Arab States: Enhancing Women's Political Participation," in *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, ed. Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), 52-71; Khadijah Errebah, "Women's Political Participation: The Moroccan Example," in *Arab Quota Report: Selected Case Studies*, (Stockholm: International IDEA), 56-60; Razieh Rezazadeh, "Women Empowerment and Good Urban Governance in Iran," *Asian Social Science* 7.3 (2011): 265-268.

<sup>111</sup> David Penna, Kathleen Mahoney-Norris, Eileen McCarthy-Arnolds, Todd Sanders and Patricia J. Campbell, "After the Women's Decade: The Task Ahead for Africa," *Africa Today*, 37:1 (1990): 49-64.

## *Root Causes of Women's Inequality in Sub-Saharan African Region*

Women's rights researchers studied how the current status of women in the Sub-Saharan Africa has been largely effected by religion and traditional patriarchal norms,<sup>112</sup> legal and political discrimination,<sup>113</sup> and economic disadvantages.<sup>114</sup> With regards to religion and patriarchal norms, Osunyikanmi (2011) pointed out how religious doctrines and African cultural norms regarded African women as a property and are used for the purpose of breeding. Some of these doctrines help justify discrimination against African women such as the Islamic Religious Penal Code of *Sharia* that is applied to Muslim women in Nigeria.<sup>115</sup> Feminist scholars argued that Muslim governments were reluctant to sign and ratify the United Nation's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) without substantial reservations since their Family Laws such as codes related to marriage, child custody, inheritance and divorce in the Middle East were based on *Sharia* (Islamic Law).<sup>116</sup> Evidently, Muslim States made reservations against articles relating to gender equality (i.e. women role within family, rights to nationality & mobility, equality before law, and political rights) as they were

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<sup>112</sup> Adebukola F. Osunyikanmi, "The Political Implications of Violence Against Women in Africa," *Canadian Social Science*, 7:5 (2011): 58-63; Rosemary Jolly and Alan Jeeves, "Yes, There are Rights but Sometimes They Don't Work..." Sylvia Bawa, "Women's Rights and Culture in Africa: a Dialogue with Global Patriarchal Traditions," *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, 33:1 (2012): 90-105.

<sup>113</sup> Tandeka C. Nkiwane, "Gender, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism in Zimbabwe: The Fight Against Amendment 14," *Citizenship Studies* 4:3 (2000): 325-338

<sup>114</sup> Daniela Casale and Dorrit Posel, "Investigating the well-being of rural women in South Africa," *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 24:84 (2010): 46-52; Delfin Go, Denis Nikitin, Xiongjian Wang, and Heng-fu Zou, "Poverty and Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: Literature Survey and Empirical Assessment," *Annals of Economics and Finance*, 8:2 (2007); Jorge Arbache, Alexandre Kolev, and Ewa Filipiak, eds. *Gender disparities in Africa's labor market*. World Bank Publications, 2010.

<sup>115</sup> Adebukola F. Osunyikanmi, "The Political Implications of Violence Against Women in Africa."

<sup>116</sup> Ann Elizabeth Mayer, "Cultural Pluralism as a Bar to Women's Rights: Reflections on the Middle Eastern Experience," in *Women's Rights, Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Julie Peters and Andrea Wolper (New York: Routledge, 1995), 178-179; Jane Connors, "The Women's Convention in the Muslim World," in *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives*, ed. Mai Yamani (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 351-371.

perceived to be in conflict with the Islamic Law.<sup>117</sup> Similar to Sharabi's term of "neopatriarchal state"<sup>118</sup> which has been widely adopted by many in the Middle East,<sup>119</sup> other African analysts argued that promoting and upholding patriarchal values could lead to gender inequality.<sup>120</sup> For example, Nkiwane (2000) argued how customary law reinforced the role of African women as subordinates and viewed them as 'minors' and dependent on their husbands and male relatives for legal procedures.<sup>121</sup>

On the other hand, researchers of development and economy showed how poor economic growth and women's economic disadvantages such as poverty, unemployment, underemployment, and wage gap led to inequalities between sexes.<sup>122</sup> In terms of economic well-being, the most disadvantaged group were women living in rural areas as they are confronted by lack of rights to land and property as well as limited access to economic opportunities.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> More specifically, Muslim States had reservations on the following articles: 2, 7, 9, 15, and 16. See CEDAW-- Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, "*Declarations, Reservations and Objections to CEDAW*," <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reservations-country.htm> (accessed November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013).

<sup>118</sup> Sharabi argued that "neopatriarchy" in which the authority, empowered by religion, and patriarchal family reinforced each other, and sought to resist modernization and change in the name of protecting traditions and customs. Therefore, Sharabi along with others believed that such resistance strengthened the patriarchal practices such as "male breadwinner/protected females" custom, arranged marriages, and veiling.

<sup>119</sup> Amal Sabbagh, "The Arab States: Enhancing Women's Political Participation," 55; Hisham Sharabi, *Neopatriarchy*; Julia Schmitt-Thiel, "The Role of Women in Transforming Middle Eastern and North African Societies."; Valentine M. Moghadam, "Towards Gender equality in the Arab/Middle East Region."

<sup>120</sup> Tandeka C. Nkiwane, "Gender, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism in Zimbabwe: The Fight Against Amendment 14"; Sylvia Bawa, "Women's Rights and Culture in Africa: a Dialogue with Global Patriarchal Traditions."

<sup>121</sup> Tandeka C. Nkiwane, "Gender, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism in Zimbabwe: The Fight Against Amendment 14."

<sup>122</sup> Daniela Casale and Dorrit Posel, "Investigating the well-being of rural women in South Africa"; Delfin Go, Denis Nikitin, Xiongjian Wang, and Heng-fu Zou, "Poverty and Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: Literature Survey and Empirical Assessment."; Jorge Arbache, Alexandre Kolev, and Ewa Filipiak, eds. *Gender disparities in Africa's labor market*.

<sup>123</sup> Daniela Casale and Dorrit Posel, "Investigating the well-being of rural women in South Africa"

## *Good Governance Definition*

Before I define the term ‘good governance’, let’s first define the term ‘governance’. Governance is, as stated by Fukuyama (2013), “government’s ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not” (p. 350).<sup>124</sup> Existing academic and policy literature revealed that there were multiple definitions for the term ‘good governance’.<sup>125</sup> For example, Rothstein and Teorell (2008) showed how good governance was conceptualized by researchers as either ‘good for’ developing the economy, democratizing governments, or compacting corruption. In other words, scholars slightly differed in what they believed to be a good process or outcome as they perceived good governance to be ‘good’ for specific set of outcome(s). For the purpose of this paper, I shall define good governance as “participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable. And it promotes the rule of law. Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources.”<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Francis Fukuyama, “What Is Governance?” *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, 26:3 (2013): 350.

<sup>125</sup> Anne Mette Kjaer, *Governance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004); Bo Rothstein and Jan Teorell, “What Is Quality of Government? A Theory of Impartial Government Institutions,” *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 21: 2 (2008): 165–190; Christiane Arndt and Charles Oman, *Development Centre Studies: Uses and Abuses of Governance Indicators*, (Paris: OECD, 2006); Martin Doornbos, “Good Governance”: The Metamorphosis of a Policy Metaphor,” *Journal of International Affairs* 57:1 (2003): 3-17; Thomas G. Weiss, “Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and Actual Challenges,” *Third World Quarterly* 21:5 (2000): 795–814.

<sup>126</sup> United Nations Development Programme, “*Governance for Sustainable Human Development: A Policy UNDP Document*,” 1997 <http://mirror.undp.org/magnet/policy/> (accessed November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013).



Researchers at World Bank (1999) identified six components of good governance: (1) accountability and voice; (2) political stability; (3) effectiveness of government; (4) regulatory quality; (5) rule of law; and (6) corruption control.<sup>127</sup> Similarly, UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific developed eight dimensions of good governance: (1) accountability: holding governmental and non-governmental institutions liable for their actions; (2) transparency: providing accessible and available information to those who will be affected by the decisions; (3) responsiveness: serving the public within a reasonable time; (4) impartiality: being inclusive of all members of society particularly the most vulnerable groups; (5) effectiveness and efficiency: making the best use of resources in a sustainable manner; (6) rule of law: having fair and independent judiciary; (7) participation: ensuring direct or indirect participation of both men and women in the decision-making process; and (8) consensus-oriented decisions: reaching to a broad-based consensus among different groups and members of the society.<sup>128</sup>

### *Good Governance & Human Rights*

A substantial amount of work are published on good governance, much of it focused on how good governance improved economic conditions through poverty reduction,<sup>129</sup> debt forgiveness,<sup>130</sup> and trade openness<sup>131</sup> in developing and less-developed

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<sup>127</sup> Daniel Kaufmann et al., *Governance Matters*, Policy Research Working Paper (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1999).

<sup>128</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, “*What is Good Governance*,” 2007 <http://www.unescap.org/pdd/prs/projectactivities/ongoing/gg/governance.pdf> (accessed November 1st, 2013).

<sup>129</sup> Abu Elias Sarker and Mohammad H. Rahman, “The Emerging Perspective of Governance and Poverty Alleviation: A Case of Bangladesh,” *Springer* 7 (2007): 93–112; Muhammad Y. Malarvizhi, “Good-Governance and Poverty Reduction Relationship a case study of Nigeria,” *Australian Journal of Basic and Applied Sciences* 7:2 (2013): 804-812.

<sup>130</sup> Eric Neumayer, “Is Good Governance Rewarded? A Cross-national Analysis of Debt Forgiveness,” *World Development* 30: 6 (2002): 913–930.

countries. Literature on good governance studies are also linked to political development,<sup>132</sup> environmental security,<sup>133</sup> and corporate governance.<sup>134</sup>

More recently, attention has turned to good governance in relation to human rights. The relationship between human rights and good governance is assumed to be equally reinforcing. Human rights offer a set of principles that guide governments' functions. Yet without good governance, human rights cannot be secured.<sup>135</sup> Governments are responsible for providing public services that are essential for securing human rights principles.<sup>136</sup> These services include delivering education and health care, building accountability through transparency and free flow of information, securing social inclusion of the disadvantaged groups, and raising awareness on human rights values among the public.<sup>137</sup> Many scholars and policy-makers examined the linkage between good governance and human rights in four main themes: anti-corruption<sup>138</sup>, rule of law,<sup>139</sup> democratic institutions,<sup>140</sup> and service delivery.<sup>141</sup> For example, Chavan's

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<sup>131</sup> Rock-Antoine Mehanna, "Quality of Governance and Openness in the Middle East: Is There a Link?" *Journal of Transnational Management Development* 8 (2002): 141- 156.

<sup>132</sup> Mick Moore, "Political Underdevelopment: What Causes 'Bad Governance,'" *Public Management Review* 3:3 (2001) 385–418.

<sup>133</sup> Michael Lockwood, "Good governance for terrestrial protected areas: A framework, principles and performance outcomes," *Journal of Environmental Management* 91 (2010): 754–766.

<sup>134</sup> Paul V. Ngobo and Maurice Fouda, "Is 'Good' governance good for business? A cross-national analysis of firms in African countries," *Journal of World Business* 47 (2012): 435–449.

<sup>135</sup> United Nations Human Rights Commission, *Good Governance Practices for the Protection of Human Rights* (New York and Geneva: United Nations, 2007), 2.

<sup>136</sup> The right to education, health, social security, safety, equal protection under the law, sufficient standard of living i.e. food, clothing and shelter.

<sup>137</sup> United Nations Human Rights Commission, *Good Governance Practices for the Protection of Human Rights*, 2-3.

<sup>138</sup> George Matovu, "Policy Options for Good Governance and Local Economic Development in Eastern and Southern Africa," *EBSCO* (2003): 121-133; S.P. Chavan, "Good Governance: Indian Context," *Golden Research Thoughts* 2:11 (2013): 1-6.

<sup>139</sup> Amos Mhina, "Good Governance and Development in Tanzania: Some Ethical Issues," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 31:4 (2000): 429–438; OK. Steve Nwosu, "The Ethics of Justice and Good Governance in African Traditional Society," *Democracy and Nature* 8:3 (2002): 467- 482.

<sup>140</sup> Claire Mercer, "Performing partnership: civil society and the illusions of good governance in Tanzania," *Political Geography* 22 (2003): 741–763; Surain Subramaniam, "The Dual Narrative of "Good

article (2013) showed how lack of information, discriminatory laws, and government's monopoly of goods and services led to the spread of corruption in India. He emphasized that citizens' right to freedom of information is the path to fighting corruption and promoting good governance.<sup>142</sup> Matovu (2003) argued that good governance is a requirement for local economic development since good governance is responsive to locals' needs, creates partnership between governmental and non-governmental agencies, implements anti-corruption strategies, and promotes public participation.<sup>143</sup>

### *Good Governance & Women's Rights*

Connecting good governance to women's rights, scholars of women and governance studies showed how enhancement of gender equity in the areas of governance leads to the promotion of good governance.<sup>144</sup> In order to be effective, governments must understand the differing needs of its citizens, both females & males, and permit females to exercise their right to participate in matters that affect their lives.<sup>145</sup> Governments should also be involved in constructing "citizens' voice".<sup>146</sup> For example, Mukhopadhyay (2013) described the role of Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) 'Gender, Citizenship, and

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Governance": Lessons for Understanding Political and Cultural Change in Malaysia and Singapore," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 23:1 (2001), 65-80.

<sup>141</sup> G. Shabbir Cheema and Linda Maguire, "Governance for Human Development: The Role of External Partners," *Public Administration and Development* 21 (2001): 201-209.

<sup>142</sup> S.P. Chavan, "Good Governance: Indian Context."

<sup>143</sup> George Matovu, "Policy Options for Good Governance and Local Economic Development in Eastern and Southern Africa."

<sup>144</sup> Daniel E. Gbervbie and Faith O. Oviasogie, "Women in Governance and Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria 1999-2012," *Economics and Sociology* 6:1 (2013): 89-107; Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, "Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance."; Niraja G. Jayal, "Locating Gender in the Governance Discourse," *Essays on Gender and Governance* (New York: UNDP, 2003); Razieh Rezazadeh, "Women Empowerment and Good Urban Governance in Iran."; Terwase Sampson, "Gender and Good Governance: Debates, Evidence and Concerns for Nigerian Women," *Africa Insight* 39:3 (2009): 53-69.

<sup>145</sup> Niraja G. Jayal, "Locating Gender in the Governance Discourse."

<sup>146</sup> Bruce Baker, "Cape Verde: Marketing Good Governance," *Africa Spectrum* 44:2 (2009): 135-147; Jana Everett, "Governance Reforms and Rural Women in India: What Types of Women Citizens are Produced by the Will to Empower?" *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 16:2 (2009): 279-302; Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, "Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance."

Governance’ initiative in enabling women to demand ‘just’ governance.<sup>147</sup> In addition, Baker (2013) discussed briefly the role of Instituto Cabo-verdiano para Igualdade e Equidade de Género (ICIEG), a Cape Verdean National Gender Equality Institute, in promoting equality by increasing women’s political representation, and creating an effective and responsive local networks (i.e. police, NGOs...etc.) that respond to reports of victims of domestic violence.<sup>148</sup> It was noted by many that engendering governmental institutions ensures that women are established as legitimate actors<sup>149</sup> and promotes participatory governance.<sup>150</sup>

On the other hand, researchers claimed that governments’ weak commitment to fundamental rights caused gender disparities to persist. For example, Sampson (2009) argued how Nigerian women were constantly marginalized from participating in politics and public space due to “near-exclusion” of females from the political landscape which limited their contribution to improving good governance in Nigeria. Such exclusion resulted from having Nigerian institutions and networks largely controlled and manipulated by men. Like others, he recommended that seats in parliament should be constitutionally allocated to Nigerian women in line with Beijing Platform of Action and National Policy on women. He also recommended applying gender-based quotas in public service and political parties to increase the proportion of women in public and

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<sup>147</sup> Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, “Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance.”

<sup>148</sup> Bruce Baker, “Cape Verde: Marketing Good Governance,” 141-142

<sup>149</sup> Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, “Creating Citizens Who Demand Just Governance,” 52.

<sup>150</sup> Razieh Rezazadeh, “Women Empowerment and Good Urban Governance in Iran,” 265.

political space. Yet, he believed that appointing women by merit tends to establish good governance compared to those hired through networks and personal connections.<sup>151</sup>

Interestingly, economists argued that greater women's political representation was associated with lower levels of corruption attributing that women are more ethical and less corrupt than men.<sup>152</sup> Criticisms of the results by Dollar, Fisman, and Gatti (1999) have been voiced by Goetz (2003) and Sung (2003).<sup>153</sup> Goetz challenged the notion that women were inherently less corrupted. She argued that women in public offices were more likely to be excluded from engaging in corruption especially when corruption is led by male-dominated networks.

Many of the above arguments are beneficial when assessing the good governance hypothesis. If promoting good governance might lead to safeguarding women's rights in Sub-Saharan Africa, it is definitely worth pursuing, and decision-makers may perhaps be justified in enforcing good governance strategies in the region. Despite the strength of the analysis, researchers of Sub-Saharan Africa region and gender studied extensively religion, traditions, and economic status in relation to women's rights violations, but they did not study poor governance, as defined by World Bank & UNESCAP, in relation to gender which may be relevant to understanding and potentially eliminating violations committed against women. Therefore, it would be useful to pay greater consideration to

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<sup>151</sup> Terwase Sampson, "Gender and Good Governance," 67.

<sup>152</sup> Anand Swamy, Stephen Knack, Young Lee, and Omar Azfar, "Gender and Corruption," *Journal of Development Economics*, 64 (2001): 25-55; David Dollar, Raymond Fisman and Roberta Gatti, "Are Women Really the 'Fairer' Sex? Corruption and Women in Government," *World Bank Policy Research Report on Gender and Development* 4 (1999): 1-12.

<sup>153</sup> Anne-Marie Goetz, "Political Cleaners: How Women are the New Anti-Corruption Force. Does the Evidence Wash?" (2003) <http://www.u4.no/recommended-reading/political-cleaners-how-women-are-the-new-anti-corruption-force-does-the-evidence-wash/> (accessed November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013); Hung-En Sung, "Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption Revisited," *Social Forces* 82: 2 (2003): 703-723.

documenting country-specific cases on gender and poor governance in this region to highlight and compare the outcomes. The second chapter seeks to shed light on the general connection between poor governance and gender inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa. It argues that governments with ‘poor governance’ do not perform an adequate job of protecting women’s rights. The present paper with its investigation of linkage between gender discrimination and quality of Sub-Saharan African governments may contribute to the literature on African women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women’s rights through advancing good governance in the region.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

The analysis presented here is based on two data sources developed by researchers at the World Economic Forum and World Bank. The Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) established by World Economic Forum (WEF) sought to capture the scope of gender inequalities in economy, education, health and politics across countries, and trace their progress over time. This index calculated gaps instead of levels, measured gaps in outcome instead of input variables, and ranked states in relation to gender equality instead of women’s empowerment. The GGG index was divided into four main sub-indices with fourteen indicators that generated them.<sup>154</sup> When computing sub-index scores, average indicators were weighted within every sub-index.<sup>155</sup> For calculating the overall GGGI score, the un-weighted average of every sub-index score was used. Along with converting data into female/male ratios, the index deployed two types of scales:

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<sup>154</sup> See Table 18 in the appendix for detailed information on indicators and their sources.

<sup>155</sup> Sub-index score ranges from 0 (inequality) to 1 (equality).

negative-positive scale for measuring gap size and direction, and one-sided scale for computing how near females are to reaching equality with males.<sup>156</sup>

The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) introduced by World Bank researchers sought to evaluate outcomes of governance in three specific clusters: (1) political cluster: procedure of choosing, monitoring and replacing governments; (2) economic cluster: effective policy formulation & implementation, and provision of public services; and (3) institutional cluster: respect for institutions that regulate interactions between the state and nationals. The WGI captured six dimensions of governance for 215 states during the time period from 1996 through 2012 allowing researchers to make broad cross-country and over-time comparisons. These dimensions were voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence/terrorism, government effectiveness, corruption control, rule of law and regulatory quality. Each dimension represented an aggregate indicator created by averaging data sources. These data sources consisted of cross-country surveys of individuals, and experts' assessments from commercial risk rating agencies, NGOs, think tanks, and multilateral organizations on quality of governance.<sup>157</sup>

The individual indicators were first rescaled to run from 0 to 1 with greater values representing better outcomes. Then, for aggregation and comparability purposes, an Unobserved Components Model (UCM) was used to create a weighted average of the rescaled data from every source for every state.<sup>158</sup> The governance estimates produced by

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<sup>156</sup> The World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2012*, 3-6

<sup>157</sup> See Table 19 in the appendix for detailed information on indicators and their sources.

<sup>158</sup> The model provides an estimate of uncertainty of margins of error.

the UCM ranged from -2.5 to 2.5, with greater values representing better governance.<sup>159</sup> The data were also reported in percentile rank ranging from 0 (lowest value) to 100 (highest value). In terms of uncertainty and imprecision, standard errors for governance scores were reported for all countries. These errors were determined by the number of available sources for each country, and the degree to which these sources were in agreement with each other. Therefore, the greater the agreement among data sources, the smaller the standard errors.<sup>160</sup> Even though researchers drew attention to errors associated with governance estimates,<sup>161</sup> they argued that, compared to individual sources, the Worldwide Governance Indicators are sufficiently more informative in measuring the underlying concept due to aggregation of information from various sources for many countries.<sup>162</sup>

My approach is to analyze quantitatively the data of all Sub-Saharan African countries in order to demonstrate a general understanding of the relationship between poor governance and gender inequality in the African region, and to show that African governments with ‘poor governance’ do not perform an adequate job of protecting women’s rights. Limiting my research to large-n analysis poses a weakness relating to inability to provide rich data. Unlike examining a country-case study, the large-n analysis provides generalizability in terms of the extent to which our findings can be generalized

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<sup>159</sup> With a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

<sup>160</sup> Kaufmann et al, “*Worldwide Governance Indicators*.”

<sup>161</sup> Researchers advised to be cautious when comparing data over time and across countries of these indicators due to changes in the underlying survey data as well as methodology, but more importantly because of the wide and overlap confidence intervals involved.

<sup>162</sup> Daniel Kaufmann, Aart Kraay and Massimo Mastruzzi, *Governance Matters VIII: Aggregate and Individual Governance Indicators, 1996-2008* (World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, 2009). See examples of other studies that deployed the indicators as explanatory variables: Eric Neumayer, “*Is Good Governance Rewarded?*”; and George Clarke and Scott J. Wallsten, “Has the internet increased trade? Developed and developing country evidence,” *Economic Inquiry* 44.3 (2006): 465-484.



to the entire Sub-Saharan African continent. In this paper, I present the findings of governance and gender gap indices for African countries. Tables and scatter graphs are used to illustrate results of the study. Focusing on 2012 findings, the analysis also covers previous years for the governance (1996-2011) and gender gap estimates (2006-2011).

## **OPERATIONALIZATION OF GOVERNANCE**

To operationalize the concept of governance, I will use the following aggregate indicators that cover key attributes of governance:<sup>163</sup>

- Voice and Accountability (WGI VA): protection of civil liberties and political rights, respect for public participation in policy-making process, and transparency in state decisions.
- Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism (WGI PV): government stability, and absence of political tension and social unrest.
- Government Effectiveness (WGI GE): efficiency and quality of state decisions, policy implementation and public services.
- Regulatory Quality (WGI RQ): promotion of private sector development through formulation and implementation of sound policies and procedures.
- Rule of Law (WGI RL): effectiveness and independence of judicial system, confidence in government's institutions in particular the courts and the police, contract enforceability, and respect for law and order.
- Control of Corruption (WGI CC): the extent to which the government is controlled by elites and private interests, as well as the degree to which

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<sup>163</sup> See Table 20

government officials exercise their power for personal gain, this includes both bureaucratic and political corruption.<sup>164</sup>

For this research, poor governance is measured by low scores in voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and corruption control.

## RESULTS

### *Governance Estimates*

The performance of Sub-African countries was quantified on a WGI index which ranged from -2.5 to 2.5, where higher values reflect better governance. The six main fields measured for the index were: ‘voice and accountability’ (based on 12 indicators), ‘political stability’, ‘government effectiveness’, ‘regulatory quality’ (7 indicators), ‘rule of law’ (11 indicators), and ‘corruption control’ (8 indicators). While the percentile ranking ranged from 0 (lowest value) to 100 (highest value). Table 13. shows the governance scores and percentile rankings for 49 African countries in three categories: voice and accountability (VA), political stability (PV), and government effectiveness (GE). Overall, the index suggested variability in the governance scores across the African continent. With Reunion (1.28), Cape Verde (0.95), Mauritius (0.86), South Africa (0.56) and Botswana (0.50) scoring the top scores while Democratic Republic of Congo (-1.52), Sudan (-1.78), Equatorial Guinea (-1.87), Eritrea (-2.15), and Somalia (-2.23) scoring the bottom scores in Voice and Accountability category.

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<sup>164</sup> Kaufmann et al, “*Worldwide Governance Indicators*.”

In addition, Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia, Cape Verde, Seychelles and Reunion, among the best-scored African countries in Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism category (1.11, 0.97, 0.94, 0.78, 0.75 and 0.47, respectively), were all among the countries with the highest scores in Government Effectiveness (0.44, 0.93, 0.12, 0.1, 0.38 and 1.00, respectively). On Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism category, Somalia was Africa's least-stable country (-2.89), followed by Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and Mali with scores of -2.27, -2.12, -2.05 and -1.98, respectively. Comoros, South Sudan, Equatorial Guinea, Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia were among the worst-governed countries in the world in the Government Effectiveness category with percentile ranks of 3, 3, 1, 1 and 0, respectively (See Table 13).

**Table 13. Governance Estimates for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2012**

	WGI VA		WGI PV		WGI GE	
	GS <sup>165</sup>	PR <sup>166</sup>	GS	PR	GS	PR
ANGOLA	-1.08	17	-0.38	36	-1.02	15
BENIN	0.07	53	0.31	57	-0.53	36
BOTSWANA	0.50	64	1.11	89	0.44	67
BURKINA FASO	-0.35	37	-0.62	26	-0.63	30
BURUNDI	-0.93	22	-1.68	6	-1.33	7
CAMEROON	-1.03	18	-0.58	27	-0.90	19
CAPE VERDE	0.95	76	0.78	72	0.10	59
CAR <sup>167</sup>	-1.26	13	-1.87	5	-1.46	6
CHAD	-1.33	10	-1.07	17	-1.49	5
COMOROS	-0.53	31	-0.39	35	-1.55	3
CONGO, DEM. REP.	-1.52	7	-2.12	3	-1.66	1
CONGO, REP.	-1.16	15	-0.48	31	-1.20	11
CÔTE D'IVOIRE	-0.79	26	-1.26	11	-1.11	14
GQ <sup>168</sup>	-1.87	2	0.21	54	-1.65	1
ERITREA	-2.15	1	-0.69	23	-1.51	4
ETHIOPIA	-1.28	12	-1.54	7	-0.44	40
GABON	-0.85	24	0.31	57	-0.78	24
GAMBIA, THE	-1.25	14	0.01	45	-0.51	37
GHANA	0.41	60	0.10	50	-0.07	52
GUINEA	-1.08	17	-1.28	11	-1.27	9

<sup>165</sup> GS stands for governance score

<sup>166</sup> PR stands for Percentile ranking

<sup>167</sup> Central African Republic

<sup>168</sup> Equatorial Guinea

GUINEA-BISSAU	-1.41	9	-0.93	18	-1.24	10
KENYA	-0.30	39	-1.29	10	-0.55	35
LESOTHO	0.04	52	0.25	56	-0.38	42
LIBERIA	-0.36	36	-0.47	32	-1.18	12
MADAGASCAR	-0.85	25	-0.57	28	-1.08	15
MALAWI	-0.23	41	-0.01	44	-0.50	38
MALI	-0.55	31	-1.98	4	-0.99	16
MAURITANIA	-0.94	21	-1.13	16	-0.91	19
MAURITIUS	0.86	73	0.97	79	0.93	77
MOZAMBIQUE	-0.18	43	0.35	59	-0.64	30
NAMIBIA	0.39	59	0.94	79	0.12	59
NIGER	-0.40	35	-1.17	14	-0.70	28
NIGERIA	-0.73	27	-2.05	3	-1.00	16
RÉUNION	1.28	91	0.47	63	1.00	80
RWANDA	-1.24	14	-0.21	39	-0.06	53
SÃO TOMÉ <sup>169</sup>	0.13	55	0.02	45	-0.72	27
SENEGAL	-0.05	47	-0.10	41	-0.46	39
SEYCHELLES	0.09	55	0.75	71	0.38	64
SIERRA LEONE	-0.36	36	-0.27	38	-1.21	11
SOMALIA	-2.23	0	-2.89	0	-2.23	0
SOUTH AFRICA	0.56	65	0.00	44	0.33	64
SOUTH SUDAN	-1.26	12	-1.22	12	-1.59	3
SUDAN	-1.78	4	-2.27	2	-1.46	6
SWAZILAND	-1.21	15	-0.40	34	-0.57	32
TANZANIA	-0.22	42	0.03	47	-0.69	28
TOGO	-1.02	18	-0.42	34	-1.32	8
UGANDA	-0.49	34	-0.89	19	-0.57	33
ZAMBIA	-0.16	44	0.61	65	-0.50	38
ZIMBABWE	-1.45	7	-0.79	22	-1.21	11

Source: Kaufmann et al, “Worldwide Governance Indicators.”

The below table illustrates the governance scores and percentile rankings for African countries in Regulatory Quality (RQ), Rule of Law (RL), and Corruption Control (CC) categories. There was a significant gap in performance between best and worst governed states. For example, Reunion, Mauritius and Botswana performed highest in Regulatory Quality category, with scores of 1.07, 0.98 and 0.69, respectively. On the other hand, Somalia, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan performed poorest in the same category, with scores of -2.26, -2.24, -1.83, -1.51 and -1.51, respectively.

<sup>169</sup> Sao Tome and Principe

Africa's best-run countries in Rule of Law category after Mauritius (0.94) were Reunion (0.88), Botswana (0.66), Cape Verde (0.48), Namibia (0.24) and South Africa (0.08). On the same category, Somalia (-2.45) was the worst-run country followed by Democratic Republic of Congo (-1.65), Zimbabwe (-1.62), Guinea-Bissau (-1.52), Central African Republic (-1.45), Chad (-1.45) and Guinea (-1.44). Additionally, Botswana, Reunion, Cape Verde, Rwanda, Mauritius, Seychelles, Namibia and Lesotho were on the top half of the world's rankings in controlling corruption, with percentile ranks of 79, 77, 74, 73, 67, 67, 67 and 62, respectively. However, Somalia, Equatorial Guinea, Sudan, Burundi, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Zimbabwe were among the bottom ten countries in the world when it comes to corruption control, with percentile ranks of 0, 0, 1, 1, 4, 4, 5 and 5, respectively. It should be noted that the majority of African countries fell on the negative side of the scale across all six categories of the governance index (See Table 14).

**Table 14. Governance Estimates for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2012 (cont'd)**

	WGI RQ		WGI RL		WGI CC	
	GS	PR	GS	PR	GS	PR
ANGOLA	-0.98	19	-1.28	7	-1.29	5
BENIN	-0.39	37	-0.64	32	-0.92	19
BOTSWANA	0.69	74	0.66	70	0.94	79
BURKINA FASO	-0.12	48	-0.43	42	-0.52	38
BURUNDI	-0.96	20	-1.09	15	-1.46	1
CAMEROON	-0.93	21	-1.02	17	-1.24	7
CAPE VERDE	0.04	54	0.48	65	0.81	74
CAR	-1.09	13	-1.45	4	-0.89	20
CHAD	-1.08	13	-1.45	3	-1.25	6
COMOROS	-1.42	8	-1.03	16	-0.73	26
CONGO, DEM. REP.	-1.51	6	-1.65	1	-1.30	4
CONGO, REP.	-1.38	8	-1.12	13	-1.19	10
CÔTE D'IVOIRE	-0.77	24	-1.11	14	-0.91	20
GQ	-1.42	7	-1.26	9	-1.56	0
ERITREA	-2.24	1	-1.36	6	-0.65	29
ETHIOPIA	-1.07	14	-0.66	31	-0.60	32
GABON	-0.51	33	-0.45	41	-0.55	36
GAMBIA, THE	-0.23	44	-0.54	37	-0.64	30
GHANA	0.12	56	-0.03	54	-0.09	56
GUINEA	-1.02	16	-1.44	4	-1.11	12

GUINEA-BISSAU	-1.24	11	-1.52	2	-1.22	9
KENYA	-0.31	42	-0.87	22	-1.10	12
LESOTHO	-0.54	32	-0.29	46	0.11	62
LIBERIA	-1.05	15	-0.92	18	-0.57	34
MADAGASCAR	-0.58	31	-0.89	20	-0.61	31
MALAWI	-0.71	26	-0.24	47	-0.45	40
MALI	-0.42	36	-0.69	30	-0.76	25
MAURITANIA	-0.64	28	-0.87	21	-0.60	32
MAURITIUS	0.98	79	0.94	78	0.33	67
MOZAMBIQUE	-0.46	35	-0.60	34	-0.59	33
NAMIBIA	0.06	54	0.24	60	0.32	67
NIGER	-0.61	29	-0.74	28	-0.69	28
NIGERIA	-0.72	25	-1.18	10	-1.13	11
RÉUNION	1.07	82	0.88	76	0.82	77
RWANDA	-0.10	49	-0.26	47	0.66	73
SÃO TOMÉ	-0.80	23	-0.81	24	-0.39	44
SENEGAL	-0.10	50	-0.33	46	-0.32	48
SEYCHELLES	-0.31	42	-0.04	54	0.33	67
SIERRA LEONE	-0.71	26	-0.87	22	-0.94	19
SOMALIA	-2.26	0	-2.45	0	-1.59	0
SOUTH AFRICA	0.38	63	0.08	58	-0.15	54
SOUTH SUDAN	-1.50	6	-1.39	5	-1.34	4
SUDAN	-1.51	5	-1.21	9	-1.51	1
SWAZILAND	-0.56	31	-0.46	39	-0.33	47
TANZANIA	-0.40	37	-0.58	35	-0.85	22
TOGO	-0.86	22	-0.92	18	-0.99	17
UGANDA	-0.24	44	-0.36	45	-0.95	18
ZAMBIA	-0.43	36	-0.40	43	-0.36	46
ZIMBABWE	-1.83	2	-1.62	2	-1.27	5

Source: Kaufmann et al, “Worldwide Governance Indicators.”

Table 15 displays changes in governance scores from 1996 to 2012 for Sub-Saharan African countries. Since 1996, there were meaningful improvements in the categories of Government Effectiveness, Corruption Control and, to a lesser extent, Voice and Accountability. Meanwhile the Rule of Law and Political Stability & Absence of Violence/Terrorism categories have seen concerning declines for the majority of the African countries. For example, Mali (+2.21 in PV), Eritrea (+0.89 in VA, +1.08 in RQ, and +0.98 in RL), and Cote d'Ivoire (+1.05 in GE and +1.11 in CC) were African countries with the most reforms made in governance since 1996. On the other hand, more than half of the African countries had substantial deteriorations in all governance indicators such as Rwanda (-1.14 in GE, -1.37 in RQ, -1.47 in RL and -1.59 in CC),

Niger (-1.43 in VA and -0.54 in GE), and Liberia (-2.09 in PV, -1.13 in VA, -1.31 in RL and -1.17 in CC) who had their governance worsened considerably over the last 16 years.

In addition, there was an overall progress, albeit inconsistent, in the governance at the categorical level. Even though, for instance, Eritrea improved significantly since 1996, especially in the Voice and Accountability (+0.89), Regulatory Quality (+1.08), Corruption Control (+1.09) and Rule of Law (+0.98), the Political Stability category has declined by 0.42. Between 1996 and 2012, there were also noticeable differences in performance between top and bottom African states at the categorical level. This was most evident in Political Stability & Absence of Violence/Terrorism category, with Mali making greatest progress (+2.21) while Liberia progressed the least (-2.09) (See Table 15).

**Table 15. Change in Governance Scores for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 1996-2012<sup>170</sup>**

	WGI VA	WGI PV	WGI GE	WGI RQ	WGI RL	WGI CC
ANGOLA	-0.56	-1.73	+0.18	-0.48	-0.35	+0.13
BENIN	+0.05	+0.65	+0.12	+0.19	+0.45	-0.01
BOTSWANA	+0.37	-0.19	+0.03	+0.07	-0.16	-0.35
BURKINA FASO	-0.38	+0.21	-0.39	-0.13	-0.60	+0.74
BURUNDI	-0.82	-0.56	-0.40	-0.71	-0.63	+0.07
CAMEROON	+0.06	-0.49	-0.10	-0.20	-0.45	+0.08
CAPE VERDE	-0.04	+0.16	#N/A	-0.62	+0.29	#N/A
CAR	+0.27	+0.50	+0.00	+0.17	-0.05	-0.50
CHAD	+0.25	-0.03	+0.82	-0.22	+0.29	+0.32
COMOROS	-0.05	+0.77	-0.18	+0.26	-0.02	-0.20
CONGO, DEM. REP.	-0.16	-0.71	-0.03	-0.32	-0.28	-0.76
CONGO, REP.	+0.14	-0.89	-0.04	+0.10	-0.21	+0.08
CÔTE D'IVOIRE	+0.15	+1.27	+1.05	+0.29	+0.29	+1.11
GQ	+0.33	-0.45	+0.58	-0.15	+0.10	+0.31
ERITREA	+0.89	-0.42	+0.31	+1.08	+0.98	+1.09
ETHIOPIA	+0.17	+0.44	-0.84	-0.27	-0.25	-0.55
GABON	+0.53	-0.34	+0.44	+0.57	-0.17	-0.47
GAMBIA, THE	-0.07	+0.46	-0.10	-0.72	+0.64	+0.20
GHANA	-0.75	-0.42	-0.04	-0.50	-0.31	-0.13
GUINEA	-0.27	+0.04	+0.03	+0.31	-0.07	+0.65
GUINEA-BISSAU	+0.25	-0.79	-0.23	+0.42	-0.50	+0.13

<sup>170</sup> #N/A stands for not available

KENYA	-0.37	+0.56	+0.21	-0.06	-0.17	+0.07
LESOTHO	-0.57	-0.13	+0.24	+0.17	+0.29	-0.58
LIBERIA	-1.13	-2.09	-0.69	-0.93	-1.31	-1.17
MADAGASCAR	+0.59	+0.68	+0.50	-0.47	+0.36	+0.82
MALAWI	+0.03	-0.53	-0.01	+0.42	-0.21	+0.23
MALI	+0.43	+2.21	-0.22	-0.06	+0.16	+0.32
MAURITANIA	+0.40	+1.39	+0.77	+0.09	+0.48	+0.59
MAURITIUS	-0.03	+0.07	-0.61	-1.00	-0.08	+0.21
MOZAMBIQUE	-0.17	-0.46	+0.50	-0.08	-0.25	+0.23
NAMIBIA	+0.10	-0.17	+0.39	+0.32	-0.04	+0.39
NIGER	-1.43	+1.06	-0.54	-0.55	-0.26	-0.40
NIGERIA	-0.93	+0.88	+0.02	-0.10	-0.08	-0.02
RÉUNION	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
RWANDA	-0.32	-1.74	-1.14	-1.37	-1.47	-1.59
SÃO TOMÉ	+0.08	+0.94	+0.31	+0.12	+0.89	+0.38
SENEGAL	+0.05	-0.62	+0.48	-0.11	+0.10	+0.10
SEYCHELLES	+0.14	+0.21	+0.27	+0.59	+0.79	+0.57
SIERRA LEONE	-0.33	-1.55	-0.26	-0.91	-0.61	+0.17
SOMALIA	+0.14	+0.24	+0.13	-0.28	+0.23	-0.15
SOUTH AFRICA	+0.29	-0.43	+0.55	-0.04	-0.09	+0.91
SOUTH SUDAN	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
SUDAN	-0.10	-0.24	+0.34	+0.15	-0.42	+0.23
SWAZILAND	-0.04	+0.10	-0.10	+0.35	-0.07	+0.32
TANZANIA	-0.52	-0.75	-0.04	-0.02	+0.32	-0.18
TOGO	-0.07	-0.07	+0.52	+0.46	+0.16	+0.23
UGANDA	-0.46	-0.72	-0.16	+0.45	-0.28	+0.35
ZAMBIA	-0.24	-0.84	-0.56	+0.01	-0.25	-0.67
ZIMBABWE	+0.83	+0.26	+0.98	+0.85	+0.80	+1.02

Source: Kaufmann et al, "Worldwide Governance Indicators."

### *Gender Gap Estimates*

Table 16 shows 2012 and 2006 overall scores in Gender Gap Index, with 0 representing inequality and 1 representing equality. The Table also calculates the change in the overall scores from 2006-2012. In 2012, South Africa (0.750), Mozambique (0.735), Burundi (0.733), Uganda (0.723), and Cape Verde (0.718) were the most gender-equal countries in Africa. Meanwhile, Mali (0.584), Côte d'Ivoire (0.578) and Chad (0.559) were African countries with the least gender equality. Even though 17 out of the 20 African countries, included in the survey, witnessed positive changes in closing the gender gap since 2006, the increases in their overall scores remained marginal. Mauritius (0.022), Nigeria (0.020), the Gambia (0.018), Ghana (0.012) and Tanzania (0.005) had



the greatest change since 2006. Conversely, Botswana, Mali and Zambia slipped back by -0.015, -0.015, and -0.008 respectively.

**Table 16. Change in Global Gender Gap Scores for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2006–2012<sup>171</sup>**

Country	2006 Score	2012 Score	Change in Score (2006-2012)
LESOTHO	0.6807	0.7610	+0.0803
MALAWI	0.6437	0.7170	+0.0733
BURKINA FASO	0.5854	0.6460	+0.0606
MADAGASCAR	0.6385	0.6980	+0.0595
BENIN	0.5780	0.6260	+0.0480
CAMEROON	0.5865	0.6290	+0.0425
CHAD	0.5247	0.5590	+0.0343
UGANDA	0.6797	0.7230	+0.0433
SOUTH AFRICA	0.7125	0.7500	+0.0375
MAURITANIA	0.5835	0.6130	+0.0295
KENYA	0.6486	0.6770	+0.0284
ETHIOPIA	0.5946	0.6200	+0.0254
NAMIBIA	0.6864	0.7120	+0.0256
MAURITIUS	0.6328	0.6550	+0.0222
NIGERIA	0.6104	0.6310	+0.0206
GAMBIA, THE	0.6448	0.6630	+0.0182
GHANA	0.6653	0.6780	+0.0127
TANZANIA	0.7038	0.7090	+0.0052
ZAMBIA	0.6360	0.6280	–0.0080
BOTSWANA	0.6897	0.6740	–0.0157
MALI	0.5996	0.5840	–0.0156
MOZAMBIQUE	-	0.7350	-
BURUNDI	-	0.7338	-
SENEGAL	-	0.6657	-
CÔTE D'IVOIRE	-	0.5785	-
ZIMBABWE	0.6461	-	-
ANGOLA	0.6039	-	-
CAPE VERDE	-	0.7180	-

*Source: The World Economic Forum, The Global Gender Gap Report 2012*

The below table illustrates African countries' rankings and scores in four sub-indexes for the year 2012. First, excluding women of Lesotho and Botswana who had better access to education achieving complete gender equality (1.00), the majority of African countries had large gender gap in educational attainment, placing Chad (135),

<sup>171</sup> Due to lack of updated data, Zimbabwe and Angola were removed. The data included Cape Verde as a new country.

Benin (134), Mali (132), Cote d'Ivoire (131), Ethiopia (130), the Gambia (127), Cameroon (126), Burkina Faso (125), Nigeria (124), Mozambique (123), Senegal (122) and Zambia (120) as lowest-ranked nations in the world. On health and survival, only 7 out of 26 African countries reached gender equality. These countries were Lesotho, Uganda, Mauritania, Mauritius, the Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire, and Cape Verde. However, most of the African nations received lower scores in women's healthy life expectancy and sex ratio at birth, awarding them bottom positions in the overall health and survival category. For instance, Mozambique, Nigeria and Botswana were placed 111<sup>th</sup>, 121<sup>th</sup> and 125<sup>th</sup> positions, respectively.

In addition, the performance of African continent in the women's economic participation and opportunity category varied across countries.<sup>172</sup> Burundi, Malawi, Lesotho and Mozambique secured top spots where they held the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> positions, respectively. In contrast, Mauritania, Cote d'Ivoire, Mauritius and Mali performed poorly in this category, with rankings of 119, 111, 108 and 103, respectively. The rest of the African countries fell between the top and bottom-ranked countries. Yet the majority of them were among the lower-half ranked states. As for political empowerment, South African, Mozambican and Cape Verdean women had better political representation in decision-making process, earning them 7<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> positions in the world, respectively. On the other hand, the remaining African states had larger gender gap in political empowerment category. For instance, women of Botswana (0.0353), Zambia (0.0732), Cote d'Ivoire (0.0782), Kenya (0.0786), Chad (0.0796), Mali (0.0835), Ghana (0.0839) and Burkina Faso (0.0897) were almost excluded from political

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<sup>172</sup> Employment of males and females at workforce, the relative salaries earned by two groups, wage gap and women's appointment in high-ranking positions

and decision-making positions. Few of them were appointed or elected in parliament, ministerial and presidential positions (See Table 17).

**Table 17. Sub-Saharan African Countries Score and Rank Gender Gap Sub-indexes, 2012<sup>173</sup>**

Country	Educational Attainment		Health and Survival		Economic Participation & Opportunity		Political Empowerment	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
LESOTHO	1	1.0000	1	0.9796	6	0.8163	33	0.2474
MALAWI	111	0.9190	102	0.9683	5	0.8224	53	0.1569
BURKINA FASO	125	0.7864	100	0.9685	32	0.7376	94	0.0897
MADAGASCAR	93	0.9731	77	0.9732	51	0.6920	56	0.1547
BENIN	134	0.6446	111	0.9612	23	0.7591	69	0.1383
CAMEROON	126	0.7816	111	0.9612	52	0.6834	92	0.0902
CHAD	135	0.5197	111	0.9612	56	0.6772	102	0.0796
UGANDA	112	0.9056	1	0.9796	37	0.7221	28	0.2839
SOUTH AFRICA	87	0.9800	103	0.9677	69	0.6588	7	0.3919
MAURITANIA	119	0.8565	1	0.9796	119	0.4955	82	0.1201
KENYA	106	0.9368	103	0.9677	35	0.7243	103	0.0786
ETHIOPIA	130	0.7386	72	0.9737	85	0.6219	62	0.1457
NAMIBIA	31	0.9988	106	0.9671	43	0.7100	49	0.1727
MAURITIUS	73	0.9902	1	0.9796	108	0.5536	88	0.0954
NIGERIA	124	0.8159	121	0.9607	81	0.6299	83	0.1193
GAMBIA, THE	127	0.7634	1	0.9796	18	0.7716	70	0.1375
GHANA	113	0.9055	105	0.9674	26	0.7543	100	0.0839
TANZANIA	105	0.9373	111	0.9612	60	0.6695	31	0.2684
ZAMBIA	120	0.8551	99	0.9690	89	0.6144	106	0.0732
BOTSWANA	1	1.0000	125	0.9549	45	0.7076	124	0.0353
MALI	132	0.7094	57	0.9761	103	0.5677	101	0.0835
MOZAMBIQUE	123	0.8267	111	0.9612	9	0.7988	12	0.3533
BURUNDI	117	0.8644	100	0.9685	3	0.8322	30	0.2702
SENEGAL	122	0.8270	75	0.9734	59	0.6737	41	0.1887
CÔTE D'IVOIRE	131	0.7095	1	0.9796	111	0.5468	104	0.0782
CAPE VERDE	97	0.9681	1	0.9796	84	0.6231	25	0.3011

*Source: The World Economic Forum, The Global Gender Gap Report 2012*

### *Relationship Between Governance Quality and Women's Status*

Figure 6 depicts a plot of the Global Gender Gap Index 2012 overall scores against Voice and Accountability Sub-Index 2012 scores for African countries. Figure 7

<sup>173</sup> 2012 Gender Gap Scores for Angola, Central African Republic, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Niger, Reunion, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, and Zimbabwe were not available.

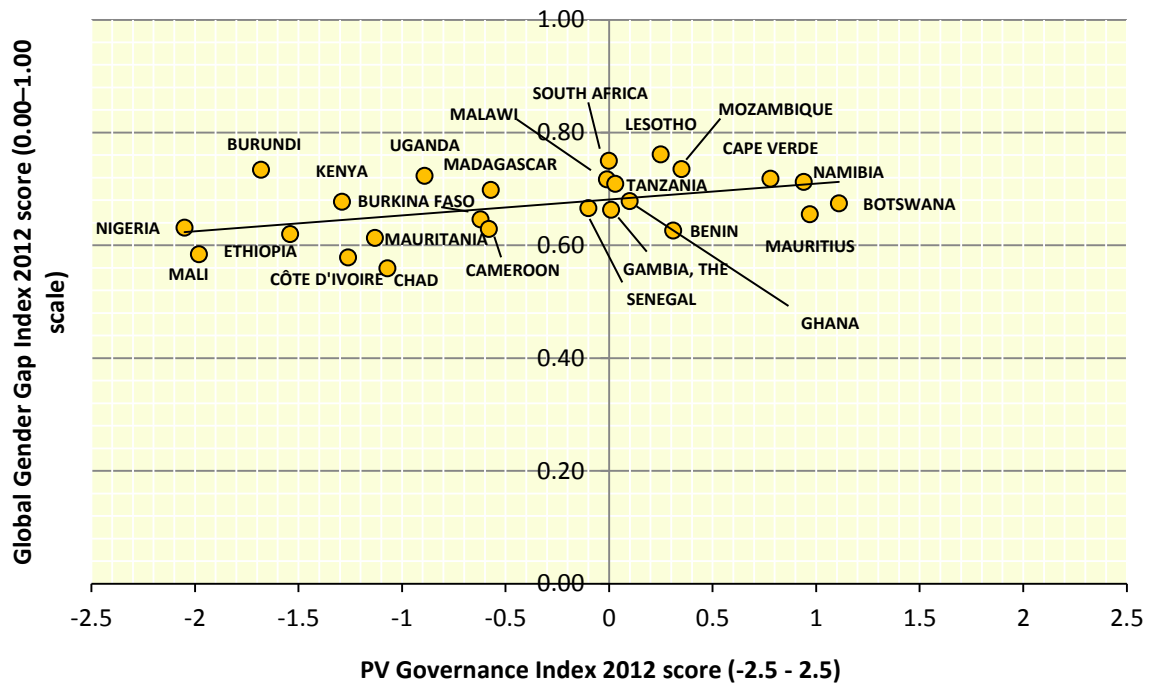
shows the Global Gender Gap Index 2012 scores against Political Stability and Absence of Violence and Terrorism Sub-Index 2012 scores. Figure 8 shows the relationship between Government Effectiveness Sub-Index 2012 scores and Global Gender Gap Index 2012 overall scores. Figure 9 depicts a plot of the Global Gender Gap Index 2012 overall scores against Regulatory Quality Sub-Index 2012 scores for African countries. Figure 10 shows the Global Gender Gap Index 2012 scores against Rule of Law Sub-Index 2012 scores. Figure 11 shows the relationship between Corruption Control Sub-Index 2012 scores and Global Gender Gap Index 2012 overall scores.<sup>174</sup>

The figures confirmed a correlation between gender equality and good governance in Sub-Saharan Africa. African countries who performed better in governance categories were slightly more likely to protect women's rights than other countries. However, the relationship between gender equality as measured in global gender gap scores and governance indicators were found to be weak positive correlation. Namibia, Cape Verde, Lesotho and South Africa, who were among best-governed states, had narrower gender gap. Meanwhile Mali, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Kenya and Chad were among worst-governed states and had wider gender gap. In addition, African countries such Burundi and Mauritius had conflicting scores. For instance, Burundi performed poorly in governance indicators. Yet, it had a better performance in gender equality.

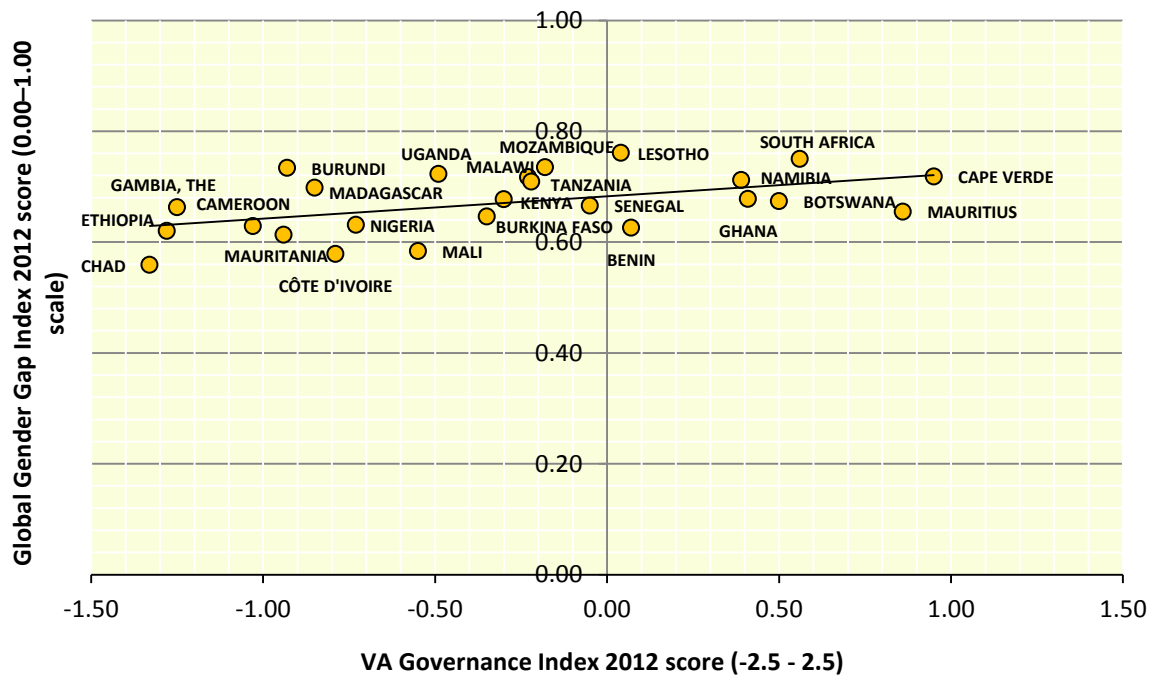
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<sup>174</sup> 2012 Gender Gap Scores for Angola, Central African Republic, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Niger, Reunion, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, and Zimbabwe were not available

**Figure 6. Relationship between Voice and Accountability (World Governance Index 2012) and the Global Gender Gap Index for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2012**

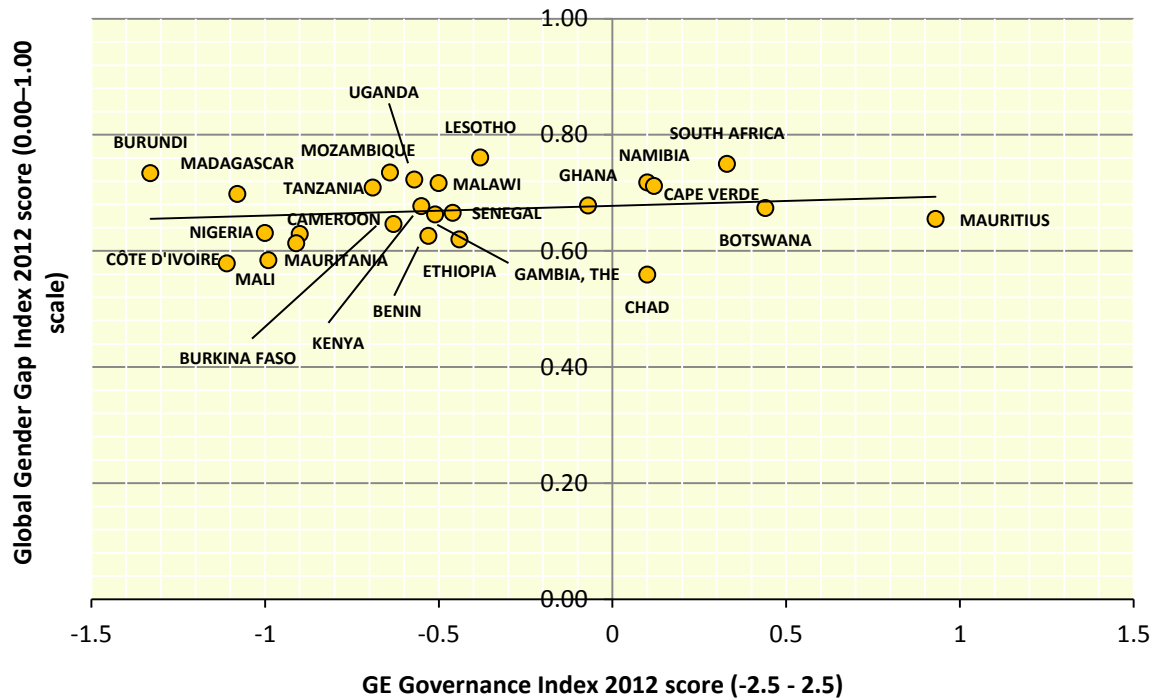


**Figure 7. Relationship between Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism (World Governance Index 2012) and the Global Gender Gap Index for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2012**

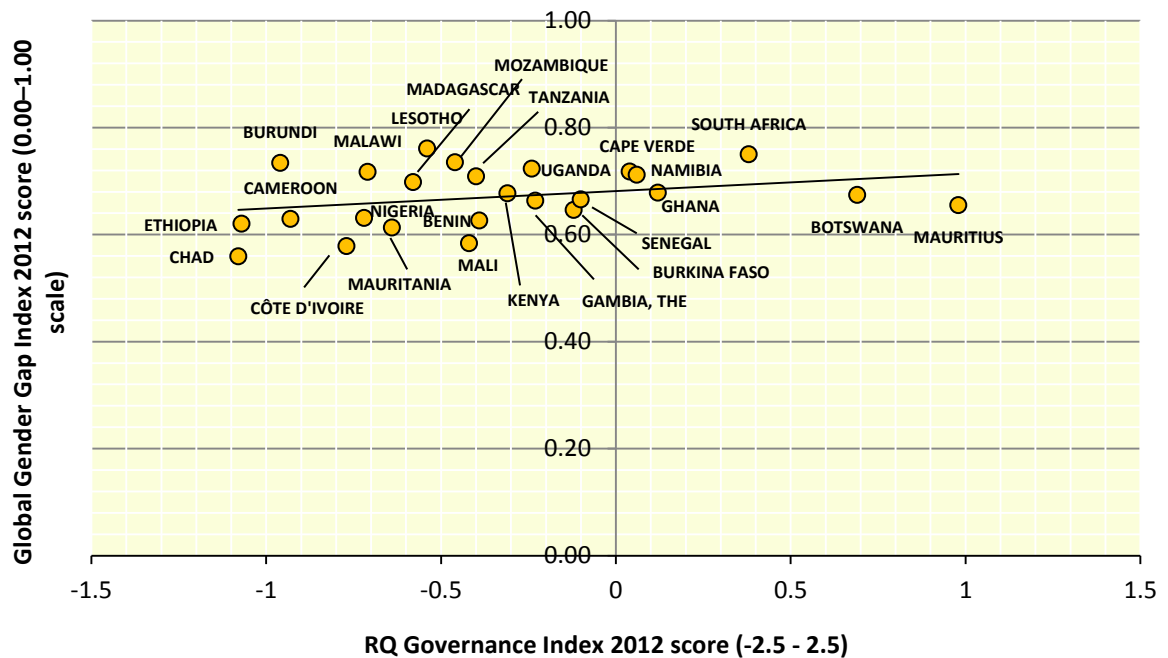


Source: Global Gender Gap Index 2012 and World Governance Index 2012.

**Figure 8. Relationship between Government Effectiveness (World Governance Index 2012) and the Global Gender Gap Index for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2012**

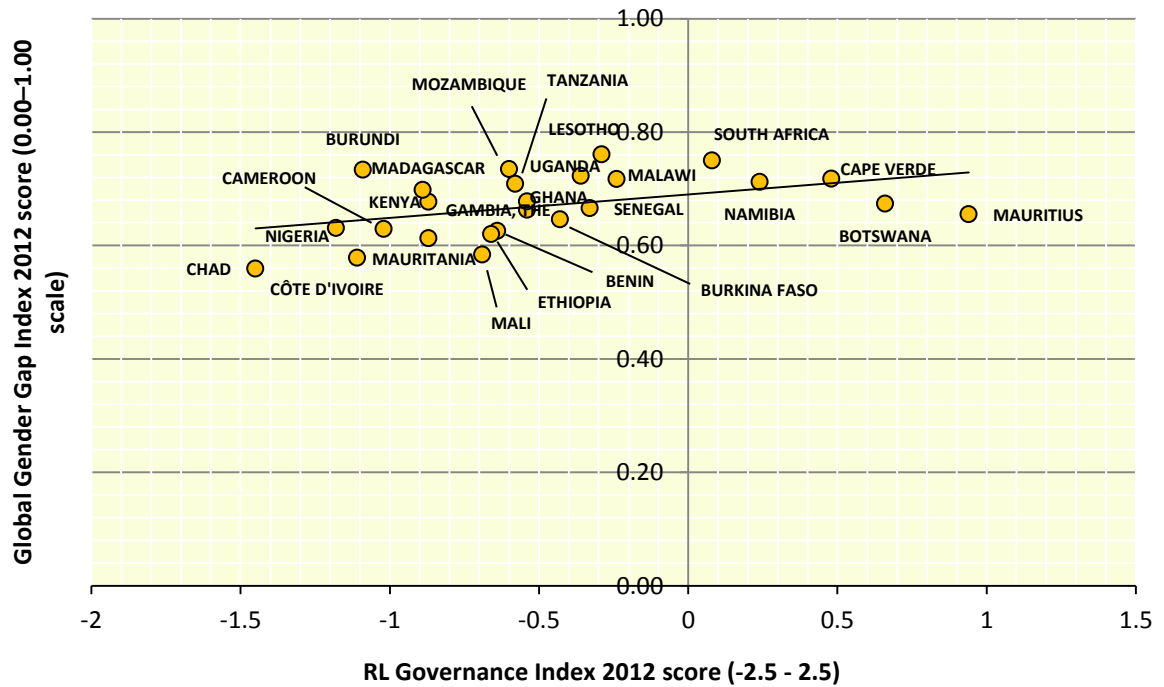


**Figure 9. Relationship between Regulatory Quality (World Governance Index 2012) and the Global Gender Gap Index for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2012**

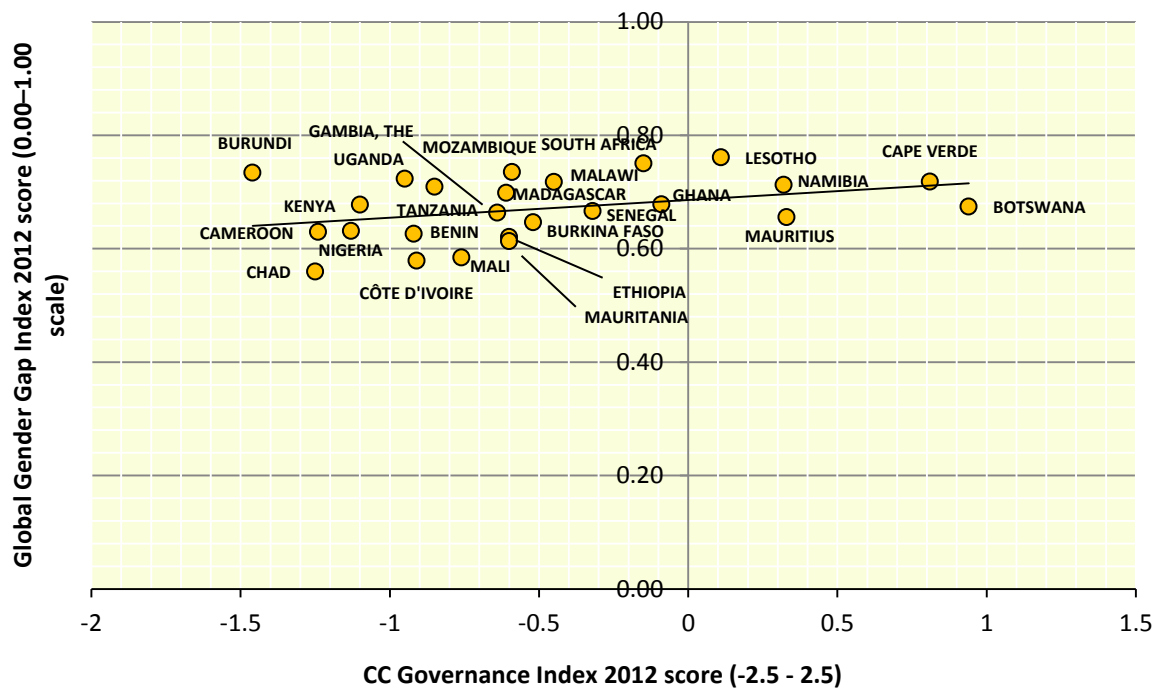


Source: Global Gender Gap Index 2012 and World Governance Index 2012.

**Figure 10. Relationship between Rule of Law (World Governance Index 2012) and the Global Gender Gap Index for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2012**



**Figure 11. Relationship between Control of Corruption (World Governance Index 2012) and the Global Gender Gap Index for Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2012**



Source: Global Gender Gap Index 2012 and World Governance Index 2012.

## CONCLUSION

In this paper I have reviewed the existing literature on current status of women and root causes of gender-based discrimination in this region. Then I have defined the concepts of governance and good governance, and reviewed arguments in favor of a relationship between good governance and human & women's rights. Next, I have described the research methods and study findings. Given the scarcity of research on good governance and gender inequality in the Sub-Saharan African region, I have examined indices of good governance and gender gap in Sub-Saharan African countries with the hope of finding a potential linkage between quality of governance and status of women.

The results presented here from World Economic Forum and World Bank contributed to understanding of the general association between poor governance and women's inequality. The World Governance indicators showed variability in the governance scores across the African continent and significant gap in performance between best and worst governed African states. Yet, the majority of African countries fell on the negative side of the scale across all six categories of the governance index. There was an overall progress, albeit inconsistent, in the governance at the categorical level. Changes in governance scores from 1996 to 2012 for Sub-Saharan African countries were slightly significant in the categories of Government Effectiveness, Corruption Control and, to a lesser extent, Voice and Accountability. Meanwhile the Rule of Law and Political Stability & Absence of Violence/Terrorism categories have seen worrying deteriorations for the majority of the African countries.



As for Sub-Saharan African women's status, African states excluding, South Africa, Mozambique and Cape Verde, had larger gender gap in political empowerment category. Similarly, significant gender gaps were found in educational attainment and health & survival in majority of African countries. On the other hand, the performance of African continent in the women's economic participation and opportunity category varied across countries. Although the continent witnessed positive changes in closing the gender gap since 2006, the increases in their overall scores remained marginal. Most importantly, the data showed that there was a positive, albeit weak, correlation between governance quality and gender fairness in Sub-Saharan Africa. African nations that had less stable, responsive, accountable, fair, efficient and effective governments, were slightly more likely to have gender inequalities than those with more stable, responsive, accountable, fair, efficient and effective governments.

Using both Worldwide Governance Indicators and Global Gender Gap Index, this research suggests that, in general, African governments with 'good governance' perform to some extent an adequate job of protecting women's rights and vice versa. In investigating the linkage between gender discrimination and quality of African governments, this research might contribute to the literature on African women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women's rights through advancing good governance and democracy in the region.

However, the findings discussed were mainly based on last year's data. Thus they did not provide an in-depth analysis of time-series data and insights into causation. One possible difficulty in explaining these findings relates to the direction of causality. Does

government, with elements of good governance, protect women's rights? Or does women's presence in the areas of governance lead to good governance? We need to be cautious when discussing causal relationship between good governance and gender equality. It's important to note that other variables such as country's religion, traditions and economy influence both government's quality and gender equality. Considering this influence in hand, we also acknowledge that there is a relationship between good governance and gender equality. Both variables are closely related to each other and form virtuous circle. Meaning that, as governments become more stable, responsive, accountable, fair, efficient and effective government, it will be impossible for them to modernize and democratize their governments without the expansion of women's rights. As women become increasingly represented in the areas of governance, they will further promote the liberalization of their governments. It is therefore necessary to empirically test the causal and directional relationship through regression analysis between good governance and gender equality while holding other variables constant.

Since the results were based on overall gender gap scores, another methodological future research is needed by cross-tabulating the governance scores with gender gap sub-indexes. Such plotting may yield a more accurate and interesting findings. To address the external validity of the findings, this study used multiple country-case studies to assist us in testing the theory through comparing and contrasting different cases. Yet, future research need to examine unique cases such as Burundi and Mauritius that had conflicting governance and gender scores. Excluding the literature review, future analyses need to take into consideration the dynamics of other important factors such as country's predominant religion, location in the continent, traditions and culture and

economic status when studying the relationship between poor governance and gender inequality. In addition, the data for some Sub-Saharan African countries were not available using World Governance Indicators. Therefore, future studies testing other well-known governance indices such as Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) are needed. Finally, we may also need to analyze polling of Sub-Saharan African countries that takes into consideration colonial heritages and tribal compositions. Hence the use appropriate “unit of analysis” maybe tribe instead of country.

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## APPENDIX

This table is reproduced from the 2012 Global Gender Gap Index report.

**Table 18. Structure of the Global Gender Gap Index**

Sub-index	Variable	Source
Economic Participation and Opportunity	Ratio: female labor force participation over male value	International Labor Organization, Key Indicators of the Labor Market (KILM), 2009
	Wage equality between women and men for similar work (converted to female-over-male ratio)	World Economic Forum, Executive Opinion Survey (EOS), 2012
	Ratio: female estimated earned income over male value	World Economic Forum, calculations based on the United Nations Development Programme methodology (refer to Human Development Report 2009)
	Ratio: female legislators, senior officials and managers over male value	International Labor Organization, LABORSTA Internet, online database, 2008 or latest data available; United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2009, the most recent year available between 1999 and 2007
	Ratio: female professional and technical workers over male value	International Labor Organization, LABORSTA Internet, online database, 2008 or latest data available; United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2009, the most recent year available between 1999 and 2007
Educational Attainment	Ratio: female literacy rate over male value	UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Education Indicators, 2011 or latest data available; World Bank's World Development Indicators & Global Development Finance online Database, 2010 or latest available data; United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2009, the most recent year available between 1997 and 2007
	Ratio: female net primary enrolment rate over male value	UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Education Indicators, 2011 or latest data available; World Bank's World Development Indicators & Global

		Development Finance online database, 2011 or latest available data
	Ratio: female net secondary enrolment rate over male value	UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Education Indicators, 2011 or latest data available; World Bank's World Development Indicators & Global Development Finance online database, 2011 or latest available data
	Ratio: female gross tertiary enrolment ratio over male value	UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Education Indicators, 2011 or latest data available; World Bank's World Development Indicators & Global development Finance online database, 2011 or latest available data
Health and Survival	Sex ratio at birth (converted to female-over-male ratio)	Central Intelligence Agency, The CIA World Factbook, data updated weekly, 2012
	Ratio: female healthy life expectancy over male value	World Health Organization, Global Health Observatory database, data from 2007
Political Empowerment	Ratio: females with seats in parliament over male value	Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in Politics: 2012, reflecting elections/appointments up to 1 January 2012
	Ratio: females at ministerial level over male value	Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in Politics: 2012, reflecting appointments up to 1 January 2012; data updated every two years
	Ratio: number of years of a female head of state (last 50 years) over male value	World Economic Forum calculations, 30 June 2012

These tables are reproduced from Kaufmann et al.<sup>175</sup>

**Table 19. Components for Aggregate Governance Indicators**

<b>Indicators for Voice and Accountability</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Democracy Index Vested interests Accountability of Public Officials Human Rights Freedom of association
Freedom House	Freedom in the World	Political Rights Civil Liberties Press Freedom Index Media Civil Society Electoral Process
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Transparency of government policymaking Freedom of the Press Favoritism in Decisions of Government Officials Effectiveness of Law-Making Body
Gallup	Gallup World Poll	Confidence in honesty of elections
State Department / Amnesty International	Human Rights Dataset	Restrictions on domestic and foreign travel Freedom of political participation Imprisonments because of ethnicity, race, or political, religious beliefs Freedom of Speech
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Freedom of elections at national level Are electoral processes flawed? Do the representative Institutions (e.g. parliament) operate in accordance with the formal rules in force (e.g. Constitution)? Freedom of the Press (freedom of access to information, protection of journalists, etc.) Freedom of Association Freedom of assembly, demonstration Respect for the rights and freedoms of minorities (ethnic, religious, linguistic, immigrants...) Is the report produced by the IMF under Article IV published? Reliability of State budget (completeness, credibility, performance...) Reliability of State accounts (completeness, audit, review law...) Reliability of State-owned firms' accounts Reliability of basic economic and financial statistics (e.g. national accounts, price indices, foreign trade, currency and credit, etc.).

<sup>175</sup> Kaufmann et al, “*Worldwide Governance Indicators*.”

		Reliability of State-owned banks' accounts Is the State economic policy (e.g. budgetary, fiscal, etc.)... communicated? Is the State economic policy (e.g. budgetary, fiscal, etc.)... publicly debated? Degree of transparency in public procurement Freedom to leave the country (i.e. passports, exit visas, etc.) Freedom of entry for foreigners (excluding citizens of countries under agreements on free movement, e.g. Schengen Area, etc.) Freedom of movement for nationals around the world Genuine Media Pluralism Freedom of access, navigation and publishing on Internet
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Military in politics Democratic accountability
Reporters Without Borders	Reporters Without Borders	Press Freedom Index
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	Institutional permanence: An assessment of how mature and well-established the political system is. It is also an assessment of how far political opposition operates within the system or attempts to undermine it from outside. Representativeness: How well the population and organized interests can make their voices heard in the political system. Provided representation is handled fairly and effectively, it will ensure greater stability and better designed policies.
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Afrobarometer	Afrobarometer Survey	How much do you trust the parliament? Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? Free and fair elections
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	Political Participation Stability of Democratic Institutions Political and Social Integration
Freedom House	Countries at the Crossroads	Civil Liberties Accountability and public voice
Global Integrity	Global Integrity Index	Civil Society Organizations Media Public Access to Information Voting & Citizen Participation Election Integrity Political Financing
International Fund for Agricultural Development	Rural Sector Performance Assessment	Policy and legal framework for rural organizations Dialogue between government and rural organizations
Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy	Africa Electoral index	Africa Electoral index
Latinobarometro	Surveys Latinobarometro	Satisfaction with democracy Trust in Parliament
International Research and	Media Sustainability Index	Media Sustainability Index

Exchanges Board		
International Budget Partnership	Open Budget Index	Open Budget Index
Vanderbilt University	Americas Barometer	Trust in parliament Satisfaction with democracy
Institute for Management and Development	World Competitiveness Yearbook	Transparency of government policy
The World Justice Project	Factor 1: Limited Government Powers Factor 4: Fundamental Rights	Factor 1: Limited Government Powers Factor 4: Fundamental Rights
<b>Indicators for Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Orderly transfers Armed conflict Violent demonstrations Social Unrest International tensions / terrorist threat
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Cost of Terrorism
State Department / Amnesty International	Human Rights Dataset	Frequency of political killings Frequency of disappearances Frequency of tortures Political terror scale
IJET Travel Intelligence	Country Security Risk Assessment	Security Risk Rating
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Intensity of internal conflicts: ethnic, religious or regional Intensity of violent activities...of underground political organizations Intensity of social conflicts (excluding conflicts relating to land)
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Government stability Internal conflict External conflict Ethnic tensions
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	Civil unrest: How widespread political unrest is, and how great a threat it poses to investors. Demonstrations in themselves may not be cause for concern, but they will cause major disruption if they escalate into severe violence. At the extreme, this factor would amount to civil war. Terrorism: Whether the country suffers from a sustained terrorist threat, and from how many sources. The degree of localization of the threat is assessed, and whether the active groups are likely to target or affect businesses.
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Institute for Management and Development	World Competitiveness Yearbook	The risk of political instability is very high
The World Justice Project	The World Justice Project	Factor 3.2: Civil conflict is effectively limited (Order and Security)

<b>Indicators for Government Effectiveness</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Quality of bureaucracy / institutional effectiveness Excessive bureaucracy / red tape
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Infrastructure Quality of primary education
Gallup	Gallup World Poll	Satisfaction with public transportation system Satisfaction with roads and highways Satisfaction with education system
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Coverage area: public school Coverage area: basic health services Coverage area: drinking water and sanitation Coverage area: electricity grid Coverage area: transport infrastructure Coverage area: maintenance and waste disposal
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Bureaucratic quality
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	Bureaucracy : An assessment of the quality of the country's bureaucracy. The better the bureaucracy the quicker decisions are made and the more easily foreign investors can go about their business. Policy consistency and forward planning: How confident businesses can be of the continuity of economic policy stance - whether a change of government will entail major policy disruption, and whether the current government has pursued a coherent strategy. This factor also looks at the extent to which policy-making is far-sighted, or conversely aimed at short-term economic advantage.
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
African Development Bank	African Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Quality of public administration Quality of budgetary and financial management Efficiency of revenue mobilization
Afrobarometer	Afrobarometer survey	Government handling of public services Health Education
Asian Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Quality of public administration Efficiency of revenue mobilization Quality of budgetary & financial management
World Bank	Business Enterprise Environment Survey	How problematic are telecommunications for the growth of your business ? How problematic is electricity for the growth of your business? How problematic is transportation for the growth of your business?
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	Consensus Building Governance Capability Resource Efficiency
International Fund for Agricultural Development	Rural Sector Performance Assessment	Allocation & management of public resources for rural development
Latinobarometro	Latinobarometro	Trust in Government

	Surveys	
World Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Quality of public administration Quality of budgetary and financial management Efficiency of revenue mobilization
Institute for Management and Development	World Competitiveness Yearbook	Government economic policies do not adapt quickly to changes in the economy The public service is not independent from political interference Government decisions are not effectively implemented Bureaucracy hinders business activity The distribution infrastructure of goods and services is generally inefficient Policy direction is not consistent
<b>Indicators for Regulatory Quality</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Unfair competitive practices Price controls Discriminatory tariffs Excessive protections Discriminatory taxes
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Burden of government regulations Extent and effect of taxation Prevalence of Trade Barriers Intensity of Local Competition Ease of starting a new business Effectiveness of anti-trust policy Stringency of environmental regulations
Heritage Foundation	Economic Freedom Index	Investment Freedom Financial Freedom
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Ease of starting a business governed by local law? Ease of setting up a subsidiary for a foreign firm? Share of administered prices Does the State subsidize commodity prices (i.e. food and other essential goods, excluding oil)? Does the State subsidize the price of petrol at the pumps? Importance, de facto, of barriers to entry for new competitors in markets for goods and services (excluding the financial sector and beyond the narrow constraints of the market)... related to the administration (red tape etc.) Importance, de facto, of barriers to entry for new competitors in markets for goods and services (excluding finance and beyond the narrow constraints of the market)... related to the practices of already established competitors Efficiency of competition regulation in the market sector (excluding financial sector)
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Investment profile
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	Legislation An assessment of whether the necessary business laws are in place, and whether there any outstanding gaps. This includes the extent to which the country's legislation is compatible with, and respected by, other countries' legal systems.
<i>Non-Representative</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>



<i>Sources</i>		
African Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Trade policy Business regulatory environment
Asian Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Trade policy Business regulatory environment
World Bank	Business Enterprise Environment Survey	How problematic are labor regulations for the growth of your business? How problematic are tax regulations for the growth of your business? How problematic are customs and trade regulations for the growth of your business?
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	Organization of the Market and Competition
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	Transition Report	Price liberalization Trade & foreign exchange system Competition policy
International Fund for Agricultural Development	Rural Sector Performance Assessment	Investment climate for rural businesses Access to agricultural input and product markets
World Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Business regulatory environment Trade policy
Institute for Management and Development	World Competitiveness Yearbook	Protectionism in the country negatively affects the conduct of business Competition legislation in your country does not prevent unfair competition Price controls affect pricing of products in most industries Access to capital markets (foreign and domestic) is easily available Ease of doing business is not a competitive advantage for your country Financial institutions' transparency is not widely developed in your country Customs' authorities do not facilitate the efficient transit of goods The legal framework is detrimental to your country's competitiveness Foreign investors are free to acquire control in domestic companies Public sector contracts are sufficiently open to foreign bidders Real personal taxes are non-distortionary Real corporate taxes are non-distortionary Banking regulation does not hinder competitiveness Regulatory quality captures perceptions of the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development. This table lists the individual variables from each data sources used to construct this measure in the Worldwide Governance Indicators Labor regulations hinder business activities Subsidies impair economic development Easy to start a business

The World Justice Project	The World Justice Project	Factor 6: Regulatory Enforcement
<b>Indicators for Rule of Law</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Violent crime Organized crime Fairness of judicial process Enforceability of contracts Speediness of judicial process Confiscation/expropriation Intellectual property rights protection Private property protection
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Business Cost of Crime and Violence Cost of Organized Crime Reliability of Police Services Judicial Independence Efficiency of Legal Framework for Challenging Regulations IPR protection Property Rights Informal Sector
Gallup	Gallup World Poll	Confidence in the police force Confidence in judicial system Have you had money property stolen from you or another household member? Have you been assaulted or mugged?
Heritage Foundation	Economic Freedom Index	Property Rights
State Depart/ Amnesty International	Human Rights Dataset	Independence of judiciary
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Degree of security of goods and persons by criminal organizations (drug trafficking, weapons, prostitution...) Degree of judicial independence vis-à-vis the State Degree of enforcement of court orders Timeliness of judicial decisions Equal treatment of foreigners before the law (compared to nationals) Practical ability of the administration to limit tax evasion Efficiency of the legal means to protect property rights in the event of conflict between private stakeholders? Generally speaking, does the State exercise arbitrary pressure on private property (e.g. red tape...)? Does the State pay compensation equal to the loss in cases of expropriation (by law or fact) when the expropriation concerns land ownership? Does the State pay compensation equal to the loss in cases of expropriation (by law or fact) when the expropriation concerns production means? Degree of observance of contractual terms between national private stakeholders Degree of observance of contractual terms between national and foreign private stakeholders

		<p>In the past 3 years, has the State withdrawn from contracts without paying the corresponding compensation... vis-à-vis national stakeholders?</p> <p>In the past 3 years, has the State withdrawn from contracts without paying the corresponding compensation... vis-à-vis foreign stakeholders?</p> <p>Respect for intellectual property rights relating to... trade secrets and industrial patents</p> <p>Respect for intellectual property rights relating to... industrial counterfeiting</p> <p>Does the State recognize formally the diversity of land tenure system?</p>
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Law and Order
State Department	Trafficking in People Report	Trafficking in People
Global Insight	Business Conditions and Risk	<p>Judicial Independence An assessment of how far the state and other outside actors can influence and distort the legal system. This will determine the level of legal impartiality investors can expect.</p> <p>Crime How much of a threat businesses face from crime such as kidnapping, extortion, street violence, burglary and so on. These problems can cause major inconvenience for foreign investors and require them to take expensive security precautions.</p>
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
African Development Bank	African Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Property rights and rule based governance
Afrobarometer	Afrobarometer Survey	<p>Over the past year, how often have you or anyone in your family feared crime in your own home?</p> <p>Over the past year, how often have you or anyone in your family had something stolen from your house?</p> <p>Over the past year, how often have you or anyone in your family been physically attacked?</p> <p>How much do you trust the courts of law?</p> <p>Trust in police</p>
Asian Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Property rights and rule based governance
World Bank	Business Enterprise Environment Survey	<p>How often is following characteristic associated with the court system: Fair and honest?</p> <p>How often is following characteristic associated with the court system: Enforceable?</p> <p>How often is following characteristic associated with the court system: Quick?</p> <p>How problematic is crime for the growth of your business?</p> <p>How problematic is judiciary for the growth of your business?</p>
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	<p>Separation of powers</p> <p>Independent Judiciary</p> <p>Civil rights</p>

Freedom House	Countries at the Crossroads	Rule of Law
Freedom House	Freedom in the World	Judicial framework and independence
Global Integrity	Global Integrity Index	Executive Accountability Judicial Accountability Rule of Law Law Enforcement
International Fund for Agricultural Development	Rural Sector Performance Assessment	Access to land Access to water for agriculture
Latinobarometro	Latinobarometro Surveys	Trust in Judiciary Trust in Police Have you been a victim of crime?
World Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Property rights and rule based governance
Vanderbilt University	Americas Barometer	Trust in supreme court Trust in justice system Trust in police Have you been a victim of crime?
Institute for Management and Development	World Competitiveness Yearbook	Tax evasion is a common practice in your country Justice is not fairly administered in society Personal security and private property are not adequately protected Parallel economy impairs economic development in your country Patent and copyright protection is not adequately enforced in your country
The World Justice Project	The World Justice Project	Factor 3.1: Crime is effectively controlled (Order and Security) Factor 7: Civil Justice Factor 8: Criminal Justice
<b>Indicators for Corruption Control</b>		
<i>Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
Economist Intelligence Unit	Country Risk Service	Corruption among public officials
World Bank	Global Competitiveness Report	Public Trust in Politicians Diversion of Public Funds Irregular Payments in Export and Import Irregular Payments in Public Utilities Irregular payments in tax collection Irregular Payments in Public Contracts Irregular Payments in Judicial Decisions State Capture
Gallup	Gallup World Poll	Is corruption in government widespread?
Institute for Parliamentary Democracy (IPD)	IPD	Level of "petty" corruption between administration and citizens Level of corruption between administrations and local businesses Level of corruption between administrations and foreign companies
International Country Risk Guide	Political Risk Services	Corruption
Global Insight	Business Conditions	Corruption : An assessment of the intrusiveness of the

	and Risk	country's bureaucracy. The amount of red tape likely to countered is assessed, as is the likelihood of encountering corrupt officials and other groups.
<i>Non-Representative Sources</i>	<i>Dataset</i>	<i>Measured Concepts</i>
African Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment	Transparency, accountability and corruption in public sector
Afrobarometer	Afrobarometer Survey	How many elected leaders (parliamentarians) do you think are involved in corruption? How many judges and magistrates do you think are involved in corruption? How many government officials do you think are involved in corruption? How many border/tax officials do you think are involved in corruption?
Asian Development Bank	Country Policy and Institutional Assessments	Transparency, accountability and corruption in public sector
World Bank	Business Enterprise Environment Survey	How common is it for firms to have to pay irregular additional payments to get things done? Percentage of total annual sales do firms pay in unofficial payments to public officials? How often do firms make extra payments in connection with taxes, customs, and judiciary? How problematic is corruption for the growth of your business?
Bertelsmann Foundation	Bertelsmann Transformation Index	Anti-Corruption policy Prosecution of office abuse
Freedom House	Countries at the Crossroads	Anti-Corruption and Transparency
Freedom House	Freedom in the World	Corruption
Transparency International	Global Corruption Barometer	Frequency of household bribery - paid a bribe to one of the 8/9 services Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Political parties Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Parliament/Legislature Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Media Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Legal system/Judiciary Frequency of corruption among public institutions: Public officials
Global Integrity	Global Integrity Index	Anti-Corruption Agency

**Table 20. Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI)**

Major Components	Governance Indicator	Represented Measures
Selection, Monitoring and Replacement of Government	Voice and Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Freedom of belief, expression, media, association, mobility</li> <li>• Participation in fair and free elections</li> <li>• Respect for minority rights</li> <li>• Transparency in decision-making process</li> </ul>
	Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of civil riot, revolution, war</li> <li>• Lack of political assassinations</li> <li>• Lack of violent protests</li> <li>• Lack of terrorist attacks and religious/ethnic conflict</li> </ul>
Effective Policy Formulation & Implementation, and Provision of Public Services	Government Effectiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quality of public schools, healthcare system, and transportation infrastructure</li> <li>• Quality of bureaucracy and administration</li> <li>• Effectiveness in obtaining essential services (passport, driving license, electricity...etc.)</li> <li>• Consistent implementation of policies and strategies</li> </ul>
	Regulatory Quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of discriminatory taxes</li> <li>• Lack of trade barriers</li> <li>• Simplicity in establishing a business</li> <li>• Absence of price controls</li> </ul>
Respect for Institutions that regulate state-citizen relations	Rule of Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of common and organized crime</li> <li>• Fair and independent judiciary</li> <li>• Enforcement of contracts</li> </ul>
	Control of Corruption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Absence of irregular payment, bribery and corruption</li> <li>• Absence of non-transparency, private interests and nepotism</li> </ul>

*Source: Kaufmann et al, "Worldwide Governance Indicators."*

### **CHAPTER 3**

#### **ATTITUDES TOWARD & PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE**

## ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to shed light on the effect of question wording on perceptions of women in political and public sphere. This research argues that intuitive-phrased questions on gender roles will have a different distribution of response options than counterintuitive-phrased questions. Using a survey experiment, the third chapter will address the following: to what extent does question wording affect the public's perception towards women in political and public sphere? By reporting key findings of the survey experiment, the results showed that there is a clear difference in the distribution of responses between intuitive and counterintuitive-phrased questions. Respondents asked counterintuitive-phrased questions were more likely to either agree or be neutral on statements supporting women over men while those who received intuitive-phrased questions were more likely to express their disagreement on statements supporting men over women. Gender and political ideologies differences were found in the data. The results of this study have both policy and theoretical implications on women's underrepresentation in US politics.

**Key words:** Survey Experiment, Gender, Women, Politics, Political and Public Sphere, United States



## IMPORTANCE OF SURVEY EXPERIMENT

The promotion of women's rights is not only an indicator of the understanding of any society's wellbeing, but also essential to accomplishing United Nations' Millennium Development Goals and Beijing Platform for Action.<sup>176</sup> The participation of women in decision-making process and in politics is one of the fundamental sections presented in Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, and the same notion was confirmed in 2000 through Millennium Development Goals specifically in the third goal relating to "Promoting Gender Equality and Empowering Women." According to UN Women and the Inter-Parliamentary Union's 2014 Women in Politics Map, only 5.9 percent of women are heads of state and 7.8 percent are heads of government. This means that around 86 percent of the leadership positions in politics are held by men.<sup>177</sup>

Since 2006 the World Economic Forum has published the Global Gender Gap Index every year. The Index provides data on gender disparities in economy, politics, education and health for most of the countries. Even though one would assume that the United States would rank highly in the index, it ranked 23<sup>rd</sup> out of 136 states in 2013. Making the U.S. far behind Iceland, the 5-year number one state.<sup>178</sup> In addition, the percentage of office holders, who are women, is not only under-represented at the federal level, but gender inequalities were also found at the state and locals levels, where more than three-quarters of elected officials were men.<sup>179</sup> One of the possibilities to

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<sup>176</sup> United Nations, *2013 The Millennium Development Goals Report* (New York: United Nations, 2013), 18; United Nations, *Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action*, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing: United Nations, 1995), 18-118.

<sup>177</sup> UN Women and the Inter-Parliamentary Union, "*Women in Politics: 2014*," [http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap14\\_en.pdf](http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap14_en.pdf) (accessed April 16, 2014).

<sup>178</sup> The World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2013*, Geneva: The World Economic Forum, 2013. 221, 371.

<sup>179</sup> The Center for American Women and Politics, "*Women in Elected Office 2014*," [http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast\\_facts/levels\\_of\\_office/documents/elective.pdf](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/elective.pdf) (accessed April 16, 2014)

understanding the under-representation of American women in politics is through exploring attitudes towards and perceptions of women in public and political spheres. With upcoming presidential elections, women's groups aspire to elect the first U.S. female president. After Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin took a part in 2008 campaign, it would be difficult to accept having another cycle such as 2012 presidential campaign that included all male candidates. The findings of this experiment will provide a general public's perception towards women in American politics and possible explanation for women's political under-representation in the U.S.

## CONTRIBUTION TO THE EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP

A number of existing surveys and reports studied extensively explain gender ideology, gender roles, child care, domestic responsibilities, family roles, household decision-making, work-family conflict, and division of labor.<sup>180</sup> Yet, questions on attitudes towards women in political sphere were often inserted as a small section among other sections such as education, health, politics, family, society and morale within the

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<sup>180</sup> International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and The Fondation Hirondelle, *“Support for Women in Politics in Tunisia: Excerpts from an IFES nationwide pre-election survey,”* [http://swmena.net/library/uploads/pdf/Overview\\_Topic\\_Brief\\_Tunisia.pdf](http://swmena.net/library/uploads/pdf/Overview_Topic_Brief_Tunisia.pdf) (accessed April 18, 2014); International Social Survey Program, *“2012 Family, Work and Gender Roles IV; 2011 Public Attitudes Toward Women as Public,”* <http://www.issp.org/page.php?pageId=4> (accessed April 18, 2014); Jennifer L. Lawless and Richard L. Fox, *2012 Men Rule: The continued Under-Representation of Women in U.S. Politics*, (American University and the Gruber Family Foundation, 2012); Pew Research Center, *“On Pay Gap, Millennial Women Near Parity – For Now Despite Gains, Many See Roadblocks Ahead,”* [http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/12/gender-and-work\\_final.pdf](http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/12/gender-and-work_final.pdf) (accessed April 16, 2014); Pew Research Center, *“Pew Global Attitudes Project: 2010 Gender Survey of 22 Nations,”* (Special report done in association with The International Herald Tribune, July 2010); World Values Surveys, *“1981 US World Values Surveys,”* [file:///D:/Users/fatma.alfayyad/Downloads/WV1\\_Results\\_United\\_States\\_1981\\_v\\_2014\\_04\\_28.pdf](file:///D:/Users/fatma.alfayyad/Downloads/WV1_Results_United_States_1981_v_2014_04_28.pdf) (accessed April 28, 2014); World Values Surveys, *“1999 US World Values Surveys,”* [file:///D:/Users/fatma.alfayyad/Downloads/WV4\\_Results\\_United\\_States\\_1999\\_v\\_2014\\_04\\_18.pdf](file:///D:/Users/fatma.alfayyad/Downloads/WV4_Results_United_States_1999_v_2014_04_18.pdf) (accessed April 18, 2014)

same survey.<sup>181</sup> Will it make a difference if we had a whole survey just on women and politics? On the other hand, some scholars conducted surveys on women and politics in the form of a panel study. For example, Dr. Lawless conducted a panel study on women's political representation. Yet, the sample included those who are considered to be potential candidates, from both genders. In addition, the survey asked questions relating to political ambitions of the possible candidates.<sup>182</sup>

Further, much of the current literature focused on statements that are in alignment with gender roles and stereotypes. One may notice that majority of survey questions, particularly agree/disagree questions, used statements that emphasized men's superiority.<sup>183</sup> For instance, the World Values Survey administered the following questions: "when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women", "do you think that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled or is this not necessary?" and "on the whole, men make better political leaders than women do."<sup>184</sup> On the other hand, statements that are in contradiction with gender stereotypes were almost entirely absent. Therefore, I decided to conduct a survey experiment that includes two samples: one sample will receive statements emphasizing accepted stereotypes (e.g. when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women) while the other sample will receive statements that contradict accepted stereotypes (e.g. when jobs are scarce,

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<sup>181</sup> World Values Surveys, "1981 US World Values Surveys"; World Values Surveys, "1999 US World Values Surveys."

<sup>182</sup> Jennifer L. Lawless and Richard L. Fox, 2012 *Men Rule: The continued Under-Representation of Women in U.S. Politics*.

<sup>183</sup> ); Pew Research Center, "On Pay Gap, Millennial Women Near Parity – For Now Despite Gains, Many See Roadblocks Ahead;" Pew Research Center, "Pew Global Attitudes Project: 2010 Gender Survey of 22 Nations;" World Values Surveys, "1981 US World Values Surveys;" World Values Surveys, "1999 US World Values Surveys."

<sup>184</sup> World Values Surveys, "1999 US World Values Surveys."

women should have more right to a job than men). This experiment will examine the effect of intuitive vs. counterintuitive phrasing on distribution of response options.

## **METHODOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATIONS**

As for components of the survey's design, the length of the survey seems suitable. When examining the question wording of the survey, one may notice the nonexistence of cognitive challenges. First, questions are not lengthy and do not contain complicated syntax or technical and vague terms. This will help us in having respondents to infer to the intended meaning of the questions. Thus collecting accurate data. Second, respondents are not influenced or led to answer the questions in certain ways. However, some statements do pose as a cognitive challenge in the judgment phase as it requires a well-thought judgment. Respondents may be unable or unwilling to give accurate answers due to social desirability issues especially in counterintuitive statements.

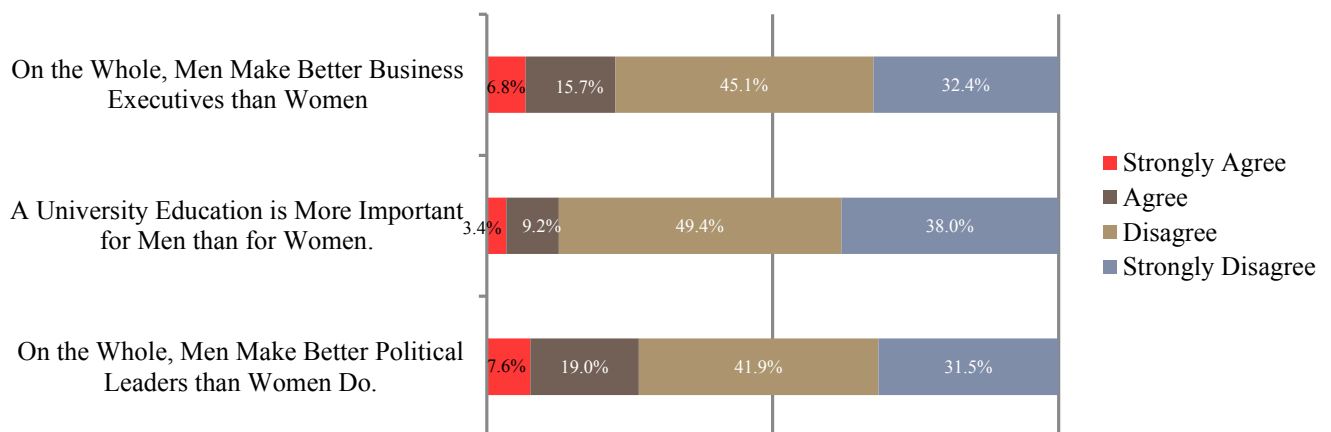
When it comes to answer choice, first the majority of the survey questions are closed-ended questions with one open-ended question. With the exception of the open-ended question, I deployed select one option as questions to measure the extent to which respondents agree or disagree with the statements. Second, non-response options such as "don't know" and "no response" are entirely absent from the response categories. Thus the results will more likely be representative of the actual range of opinions. Third, an indifferent category is added to Questions 4-8. There might be some respondents who genuinely feel neutral towards gender issues. By not adding a middle category, respondents might feel confined to selecting a category that does not represent their accurate or actual opinions. For validity purposes, the first question does not contain a neutral category as the original WVS question did not include one. Finally, there is one

limitation to my survey experiment related to social desirability issues. Some respondents may feel uncomfortable expressing their actual opinions on counterintuitive statements and may either agree or be neutral with the statement supporting women over men.

## KEY FINDINGS

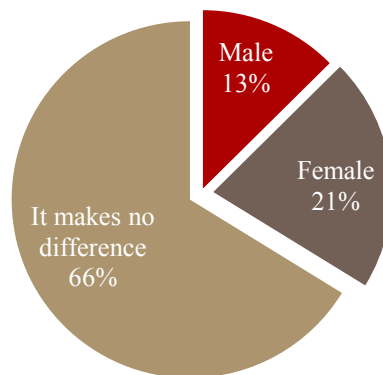
In this survey, respondents were asked about the extent to which they agree or disagree with the following statements shown in Figure 12. An overwhelming majority of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that men make better political leaders (73.4%) and business executives (77.5%) than women do. Similarly, the majority of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that “a university education is more important for men than for women.” With regards to gender, female respondents were more likely than male respondents to strongly disagree with the statements. As for political ideology, respondents who identified themselves as very conservative were most likely to agree that men make better political leaders (52.6%) and business executives (57.9%) than women do.

**Figure 12. How Strongly Do You Agree or Disagree with the Each of the Following Statement**



Respondents were asked If a male legislator and a female legislator were equally qualified, would he/ she prefers to have a female or a male represent him/ her in Congress. Around two-thirds of respondents (66%) said that it makes no difference in having a female or male representative in Congress. Interestingly, the percentage of those who preferred female representatives (21%) were slightly higher than those who preferred male representatives (13%). In addition, there were no differences found in preferences of having a female or male representatives across gender and political ideology.

**Figure 13. Having a Male or Female Representative in Congress**



In a follow-up open ended question, survey respondents were asked to mention the reason behind their answer choice. Respondents, who indicated that it makes no difference in having a male or female legislator as their representative in Congress, cited gender as irrelevant factor when deciding to vote for potential representative. In addition, the two most cited reasons for those who preferred a female representative were the need to provide equal opportunities and increase women's representation in government. On the other hand, respondents who preferred to have a male legislator believed that men are

more capable, analytical and authoritative than women. They also believed that men are less emotional than women.

In the subsequent two tables, respondents were divided into two groups. The first group received statements that are in contradiction with traditional gender roles and stereotypes while the second group were asked to offer their opinions on statements that exemplify traditional gender roles and stereotypes. Table 21. shows the percentages of people from first sample who either agreed, disagreed or were indifferent to the below statements on gender in politics and at workforce. Overall, half of the respondents (50.3% and 53.1%, respectively) expressed neutrality on the statements that “women running for office raise more money than men,” and that “women are better than men as Presidents.” Likewise, four out of ten respondents were indifferent about the rest of three statements.

Men, however, were less likely than women to express neutrality on the statements that contradict gender roles and stereotypes. They were also more likely than female respondents to strongly disagree that “when jobs are scarce, women should have more right to a job than men.” Across political ideology, those who identified themselves as very conservative were more likely to than others to strongly disagree on the following two statements: “women are better than men as Presidents” and “when jobs are scarce, women should have more right to a job than men.”

**Table 21. Attitudes towards Gender in Politics and at Workforce (First Sample)**

Statements	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Indifferent	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
When jobs are scarce, women should have more right to a job than men	2.3%	8.0%	<b>43.4%</b>	17.7%	28.6%
Women are more capable of taking decisions regarding budgets and administration than men.	5.2%	11.6%	<b>44.5%</b>	16.2%	22.5%
Women are better in solving problems than men	4.6%	14.9%	<b>42.0%</b>	16.1%	22.4%
Women running for office raise more money than men	3.4%	7.4%	<b>50.3%</b>	21.7%	17.1%
Women are better than men as Presidents.	3.4%	8.6%	<b>53.1%</b>	10.3%	24.6%

The second sample were asked to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the statements shown in Table 22. The table shows that, with the exception of the fourth statement, the majority of respondents strongly disagreed with the rest of the statements. Women were more likely than men to strongly disagree with all of these statements. Across political ideologies, moderate and liberal respondents were more likely than conservative and very conservative respondents to strongly disagree with all statements.

**Table 22. Attitudes towards Gender in Politics and at Workforce (Second Sample)**

Statements	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Indifferent	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women	2.6%	3.3%	21.7%	15.1%	<b>57.2%</b>
Men are more capable of taking decisions regarding budgets and administration than women.	2.0%	6.0%	15.3%	13.3%	<b>63.3%</b>
Men are better in solving problems than women	3.3%	8.6%	10.5%	17.1%	<b>60.5%</b>
Men running for office raise more money than women	9.9%	25.0%	<b>27.0%</b>	13.8%	24.3%
Men are better than women as Presidents.	6.6%	8.6%	21.7%	12.5%	<b>50.7%</b>



## **THEORETICAL AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

It's crucial that researchers pay considerable attention to how questions are worded to provide accurate results. Second, the results showed a strong percentage of the respondents expressing neutrality in response to the counterintuitive statements. Therefore, researchers need to investigate the reasons why such a significant percentage of respondents were neutral. Was it an error in the sampling design or simply a social desirability bias? Third, policy-makers should be more careful in formulating their agenda when using surveys as the source. Fourth, perceptions of women are clearly correlated with and influenced by respondent's political ideology and gender. Female respondents were more likely than male respondents to clearly show their support to women over men when answering counterintuitive-phrased questions.

Fifth, as for voting, conservative respondents may be less likely to vote for or support female candidates. Sixth, more future research is needed on experimenting the influence of question wording on questions related to gender equality. More future research is also needed on examining the influence of other demographic characteristics such as respondents' age, ethnicity, religion, household income, and party affiliation on gender-related questions. Finally, public perceptions of women may form the leadership choices in democratic governments. How respondents perceive women in a society is highly correlated with choices made when casting a ballot. Those who view women as more capable than men of taking decisions regarding budgets and administration, better in solving problems and raising more money when running for office, may perhaps be more likely to be supportive of gender equality in government. Thus, transforming their

support into action to ensure that women are represented equally in major political divisions. However, such effect may be less influential to authoritative governments.

## **SUMMARY OF METHODS**

### **The Sample Design**

Key findings for the survey experiment are based on a web-survey conducted from March 8<sup>th</sup> until March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2014 using a sample of 328 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in the U.S (citizens and residents). A total of 328 interviews were completed, using Amazon Mechanical Turk. The survey was administered in English language.

### **Questionnaire**

In addition to the demographics section, the original survey included other sections: the media, environment, technology, science and research, LGBT and women's rights, and US domestic affairs and foreign policy. The original survey was administered as a part of a class project at Johns Hopkins University. For the purpose of this paper, the key findings was based on questions asked in views of women and men section. A complete copy of the survey questionnaire used in this paper can be found in the appendix.

### **Background Characteristics of Survey Respondents**

Table 23. presents background characteristics of the 328 respondents. Male respondents were slightly more represented in the sample with 173, compared to 151 female respondents. The proportion of respondents aged 21 – 39 comprised about 56.88 percent of the sample. As for political ideology, the majority of respondents identified themselves as either Liberal (33.73%), Conservative (21.28%) or Moderate (21.88%). The remaining respondents indicated their political ideology as “Very Conservative” and “Very

Liberal.” The data show variation in respondent’s party affiliation, with majority identifying themselves as Independent (42.1%), Independent-leaning Democrat (15.75%) and Independent-leaning Republican (8.78%).

**Table 23. Characteristics of Survey Respondents**

Background Characteristics	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
<b>Gender*</b>		
Female	151	46.60
Male	173	53.40
Total	324	100.00
<b>Age**</b>		
18-20	5	1.53
21-29	104	31.80
30-39	82	25.08
40-49	51	15.60
50-59	42	12.84
60 or older	43	13.15
Total	327	100
<b>Political Views***</b>		
Conservative	70	21.28
Liberal	111	33.73
Moderate	72	21.88
Very Conservative	19	5.78
Very Liberal	49	14.89
Other	8	2.43
Total	329	99.99
<b>Party Affiliation***</b>		
Independent	58	17.57
Independent-leaning Democrat	52	15.75
Independent-leaning Republican	29	8.78
Not very strong Democrat	47	14.24
Not very strong Republican	28	8.48
Strong Democrat	71	21.51
Strong Republican	27	8.18
Other	18	5.45
Total	330	99.96

\* Four cases were;

\*\* One missing response;

\*\*\* Respondents selected more than one option

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## APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Q1. For each of the following statements, please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree...?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
a. On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.	1	2	4	5	8
b. A university education is more important for men than for women.	1	2	4	5	8
c. On the whole, men make better business executives than women do.	1	2	4	5	8

Q2. If a male legislator and a female legislator were equally qualified, would you prefer to have a female or a male represent you in Congress?

1. Male
2. Female
3. It makes no difference

**ASK Q3 IF Q2<3**

Q3. What is the reason behind selecting your answer choice in Q2?

### Sample 1:

For each of the following statements, can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with each. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree...?

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Indifferent	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Q4. When jobs are scarce, women should have more right to a job than men	1	2	3	4	5
Q5. Women are more capable of taking decisions regarding budgets and administration than men.	1	2	3	4	5
Q6. Women are better in solving problems than men	1	2	3	4	5
Q7. Women running for office raise more money than men	1	2	3	4	5
Q8. Women are better than men as Presidents.	1	2	3	4	5

**Sample 2:**

For each of the following statements, can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with each. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree...?

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Indifferent	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Q4a. When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women	1	2	3	4	5
Q5a. Men are more capable of taking decisions regarding budgets and administration than women.	1	2	3	4	5
Q6a. Men are better in solving problems than women	1	2	3	4	5
Q7a. Men running for office raise more money than women	1	2	3	4	5
Q8a. Men are better than women as Presidents.	1	2	3	4	5

## CONCLUSION

In first two chapters, I have reviewed the existing literature on current status of women and root causes of gender-based discrimination in this region. Then I have defined the concepts of governance and good governance, and reviewed arguments in favor of a relationship between good governance and human & women's rights. Next, I have described the research methods and study findings. Given the scarcity of research on good governance and gender inequality in the Middle East, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa regions, I have examined indices of good governance and gender gap in these regions with the hope of finding a potential linkage between quality of governance and status of women.

The World Economic Forum and World Bank findings in the first chapter contributed to understanding of the general connection between poor governance and women's inequality. They revealed that, generally, Saudi Arabian poor governance was associated with having gender inequalities in the country. More specifically, Saudi Arabia was characterized as less stable, responsive, accountable, fair, efficient and effective government. As for women's inequality, although there were no major gender differences with respect to educational attainment and health & survival, significant gender gaps were found in economic participation and political empowerment. Saudi women were also discriminated against when it came to attainment of basic rights such as equal inheritance, voting and running for public office rights. Overall, the findings showed that Saudi Arabia performed poorly in both Worldwide Governance Indicators and Global Gender Gap Index over the years. This research suggests that governments with 'poor governance' do not perform an adequate job of protecting women's rights. In



investigating the linkage between gender discrimination and quality of Saudi government, this research might contribute to the literature on MENA women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women's rights through advancing good governance and democracy in the region.

In the second chapter, the results using World Economic Forum and World Bank data also contributed to understanding of the general association between poor governance and women's inequality. The World Governance indicators showed variability in the governance scores across the African continent and significant gap in performance between best and worst governed African states. Yet, the majority of African countries fell on the negative side of the scale across all six categories of the governance index. There was an overall progress, albeit inconsistent, in the governance at the categorical level. Changes in governance scores from 1996 to 2012 for Sub-Saharan African countries were slightly significant in the categories of Government Effectiveness, Corruption Control and, to a lesser extent, Voice and Accountability. Meanwhile the Rule of Law and Political Stability & Absence of Violence/Terrorism categories have seen worrying deteriorations for the majority of the African countries.

As for Sub-Saharan African women's status, African states excluding, South Africa, Mozambique and Cape Verde, had larger gender gap in political empowerment category. Similarly, significant gender gaps were found in educational attainment and health & survival in majority of African countries. On the other hand, the performance of African continent in the women's economic participation and opportunity category varied across countries. Although the continent witnessed positive changes in closing the gender

gap since 2006, the increases in their overall scores remained marginal. Most importantly, the data showed that there was a positive, albeit weak, correlation between governance quality and gender fairness in Sub-Saharan Africa. African nations that had less stable, responsive, accountable, fair, efficient and effective governments, were slightly more likely to have gender inequalities than those with more stable, responsive, accountable, fair, efficient and effective governments.

Using both Worldwide Governance Indicators and Global Gender Gap Index, this research suggests that, in general, African governments with ‘good governance’ perform to some extent an adequate job of protecting women’s rights and vice versa. In investigating the linkage between gender discrimination and quality of African governments, this research might contribute to the literature on African women, and assist policy-makers in making well-informed decisions with the aim of promoting women’s rights through advancing good governance and democracy in the region.

However, the results discussed for both chapters were largely based on last year’s data, they did not provide an in-depth analysis of time-series data and insights into causation. One possible difficulty in explaining these findings relates to the direction of causality. Does government, with elements of good governance, protect women’s rights? Or does women’s presence in the areas of governance lead to good governance? We need to be cautious when discussing causal relationship between good governance and gender equality. It’s important to note that other variables such as country’s religion, traditions and economy influence both government’s quality and gender equality. Considering this influence in hand, we also acknowledge that there is a relationship between good

governance and gender equality. Both variables are closely related to each other and form virtuous circle. Meaning that, as governments become more stable, responsive, accountable, fair, efficient and effective government, it will be impossible for them modernize and democratize their governments without the expansion of women's rights. As women become increasingly represented in the areas of governance, they will further promote the liberalization of their governments. It is therefore necessary to empirically test the causal and directional relationship through regression analysis between good governance and gender equality while holding other variables constant.

Moreover, this first chapter raises a question about external validity of the findings. Can these findings be generalized to other Middle Eastern and North African countries? As I argued earlier, Saudi Arabia was an interesting country-case to examine as it represented a typical case to some countries, and an outlier case with respects to others countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Yet, in order to further test the proposed theory, there is a clear need to use replication logic in several country-case studies in the MENA region. Using multiple country-case studies will assist us in testing the theory through comparing and contrasting different cases.

Since the results of the second chapter were based on overall gender gap scores, another methodological future research is needed by cross-tabulating the governance scores with gender gap sub-indexes. Such plotting may yield a more accurate and interesting findings. To address the external validity of the findings, this study used multiple country-case studies to assist us in testing the theory through comparing and contrasting different cases. Yet, future research need to examine unique cases such as

Burundi and Mauritius that had conflicting governance and gender scores. Excluding the literature review, future analyses need to take into consideration the dynamics of other important factors such as country's predominant religion, location in the continent, traditions and culture and economic status when studying the relationship between poor governance and gender inequality. In addition, the data for some Sub-Saharan African countries were not available using World Governance Indicators. Therefore, future studies testing other well-known governance indices such as Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) are needed. Finally, we may also need to analyze polling of Sub-Saharan African countries that takes into consideration colonial heritages and tribal compositions. Hence the use appropriate "unit of analysis" maybe tribe instead of country.

In the third chapter, I have discussed the importance of the survey experiment. Then I reviewed the existing literature and made the reader aware of the possible contribution to the existing scholarship. Then I have described the methodological justifications and revealed the key findings of the survey experiment. Theoretical and policy implications were discussed in the subsequent section. Followed by a description of summary of methods.

The results revealed that an overwhelming majority of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that men make better political leaders and business executives than women do. Similarly, the majority of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that "a university education is more important for men than for women." With regards to gender, female respondents were more likely than male respondents to

strongly disagree with the statements. As for political ideology, respondents who identified themselves as very conservative were most likely to agree that men make better political leaders and business executives than women do. Moreover, about two-thirds of respondents said that it makes no difference in having a female or male representative in Congress. Interestingly, the percentage of those who preferred female representatives were slightly higher than those who preferred male representatives. In addition, there were no differences found in preferences of having a female or male representatives across gender and political ideology.

Further, survey respondents who indicated that it makes no difference in having a male or female legislator as their representative in Congress, cited gender as irrelevant factor when deciding to vote for potential representative. Additionally, the two most cited reasons for those who preferred a female representative were the need to provide equal opportunities and increase women's representation in government. On the other hand, respondents who preferred to have a male legislator believed that men are more capable, analytical and authoritative than women. They also believed that men are less emotional than women.

On one hand, half of the respondents in the first sample that received statements in contradiction with traditional gender roles and stereotypes neutral on the statements that "women running for office raise more money than men," and that "women are better than men as Presidents." Likewise, four out of ten respondents were indifferent about the rest of three statements mentioned in Table 1. As for gender, men however were less likely than women to express neutrality on the statements that contradict gender roles and

stereotypes. They were also more likely than female respondents to strongly disagree that “when jobs are scarce, women should have more right to a job than men.” Across political ideology, those who identified themselves as very conservative were more likely to than others to strongly disagree on the following two statements: “women are better than men as Presidents” and “when jobs are scarce, women should have more right to a job than men.” On the other hand, the majority of respondents who received statements in alignment with traditional gender roles and stereotypes strongly disagreed with all of the statements. Women were more likely than men to strongly disagree with all of these statements. Across political ideologies, moderate and liberal respondents were more likely than conservative and very conservative respondents to strongly disagree with all statements.

Finally, It’s crucial that researchers pay considerable attention to how questions are worded to provide accurate results. Second, the results showed a strong percentage of the respondents expressing neutrality in response to the counterintuitive statements. Therefore, researchers need to investigate the reasons why such a significant percentage of respondents were neutral. Was it an error in the sampling design or simply a social desirability bias? Third, policy-makers should be more careful in formulating their agenda when using surveys as the source. Fourth, perceptions of women are clearly correlated with and influenced by respondent’s political ideology and gender. Female respondents were more likely than male respondents to clearly show their support to women over men when answering counterintuitive–phrased questions. Fifth, as for voting, conservative respondents may be less likely to vote for or support female candidates. Sixth, more future research is needed on experimenting the influence of

question wording on questions related to gender equality. More future research is also needed on examining the influence of other demographic characteristics such as respondents' age, ethnicity, religion, household income, and party affiliation on gender-related questions. Finally, public perceptions of women may form the leadership choices in democratic governments. How respondents perceive women in a society is highly correlated with choices made when casting a ballot. Those who view women as more capable than men of taking decisions regarding budgets and administration, better in solving problems and raising more money when running for office, may perhaps be more likely to be supportive of gender equality in government. Thus, transforming their support into action to ensure that women are represented equally in major political divisions. However, such effect may be less influential to authoritative governments.

## FATIMAH ALI AL-FAYYAD AL-KHALDI

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### Education

- 2014     **Joint Program in Survey Methodology** at University of Maryland. February 5-6, 2014. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington DC. United States.  
Course: *Statistical Analysis with Missing Data*
- 2013-     Graduate student in the **M.A. in Government** Program at Johns Hopkins  
2014     University. Washington DC, United States.  
(exp.)     Concentration: Political Communication
- 2013     **ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research.** Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), University of Michigan. June 17-19, 2013. New York, United States.  
Course: *Designing, Conducting, and Analyzing Field Experiments*
- 2012     **Methods Summer Program.** Methodology Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). August 2012. London, United Kingdom.  
Course: *Survey Methods*
- 2007-     **B.A. in International Affairs** from Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.  
2011     Completed the requirements of a four year degree in three years  
Overall GPA: 3.98. Order of Excellence.  
Capstone project was a paper entitled: Why has the Theory of Conspiracy become so central to the Arab Political Culture?
- 2005-     **High School Diploma** from Arwa Bent Abdul-Mutaleb high school for  
2007     girls. Doha, Qatar.  
Graduated with a grade of 95.3

### Work Experience

- 2014-     **Policy Analyst** at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute  
Present     (SESRI) in Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.
- 2011-     Full-time **Research Assistant** at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute  
2014     (SESRI) in Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.  
*Responsibilities:* (1) providing support and assistance to the researchers (principal investigators) in all phases of the research project, including proposal preparation, fieldwork planning, data collection, analysis, and dissemination; (2) participating in writing papers, articles, and reports from the findings of surveys conducted by the Institute; and (3) preparing progress reports or other reports related to survey management.  
*Projects:* 2011 Omnibus survey, Qatar University Image Study, Qatar Women's Survey, The National Human Rights Committee Survey, Education in Qatar 2011, Agenda-Setting in Qatar, 2012 Omnibus survey, Qatar World Value Survey follow up study, GCC Political Integration survey, Marriage Delay in Qatar and Arab countries survey,



First Cousin Marriage in Qatar survey, Education in Qatar survey 2012-2013, GCC Migrant Laborers survey, and Civil Society Organizations in Qatar.

### **Qatar University Services**

2013 Standing Committee. Member, SESRI Strategic Planning (for 2013-2016) Committee. Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.

### **Activities and Conference Participation/Attendance**

Feb. 2014 Attended a high-level panel on “Promoting Shared Societies: Inclusion in the Post-2015 Development Agenda”. Panel included Honorable Win Kok, Honorable Kim Campbell, Honorable Cassam Uteem, Santiago Levy and John Podesta. Brookings Institution. Washington DC. February 7, 2014

Jan. 2014 Attended a lecture on “How the Affordable Care Act Changes the Distribution of Income” presented by Henry Aaron and Gary Burtless. Brookings Institution. Washington DC. January 27, 2014

Jan. 2014 Attended a webinar on “Data Breaches and How They Impact Organizations” presented by Bob Stasio, CEO of Ronin Analytics and organized by IKANOW. January 22.

Sep. 2013 Attended a lecture on “Unreasonable Suspicion: Stop and Frisk in the Age of Colorblindness” by Delores Jones-Brown (J.D., Ph.D.) from John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY, Johns Hopkins University. Washington, DC. September 25.

April 2013 “SESRI & How to Conduct Your Own Survey”. A presentation presented to Capstone Class students from Department of International Affairs-QU. 10 April. Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.

March 2013 Attended a conference on “The Rise of Public Engagement: the Region and the World”. 18 - 20 March 2013. Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.

Nov. 2012 Attended the International Conference on European Social Survey: Cross-National Evidence from European Social Survey: Exploring Public Attitudes, Informing Public Policy in Europe. 23 November- 25 November. European University of Cyprus. Nicosia, Cyprus.

Nov. 2012 “SESRI & Education Project 2012”. A presentation presented to students in eighth to twelfth grades from Al-Shahanyia Preparatory & High School for Girls. 21 November. Al-Shahanyia, Qatar.

May 2012 Co-presented a session with Prof. Michael W. Traugott on “coding open-ended responses”. Introduction to Survey Design training program at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute - Qatar University in collaboration with Institute for Social Research - University of Michigan Ann Arbor. Doha, Qatar.

Nov. 2011 Presented a paper entitled ‘Agenda-Setting in Qatar’ at Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research (MAPOR) in Chicago. Qatar University and University of Michigan Ann Arbor collaborated in this project. Illinois, United States.

2011 Attended a conference on Survey Research in the Gulf: Challenges and Policy Implications. 28 February - 1 March 2011. Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.

Dec. Organized and presented Zoroastrianism religion at the World Religions

- 2010      Exhibition at Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.
- 2009      Represented the Department of International Affairs at the University Open House. Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.
  
- 2006-      Participated in many Intellectual Competitions at the level of High Schools  
2007      across Qatar such as 'Arabic Language competition', obtained 2<sup>nd</sup> place.
  
- 2005-      Elected twice as the Secretary-General and once as assistant Secretary  
2007      General in Arwa Bent Abdul-Mutaleb School. Doha, Qatar.
  
- 2006      Participated in 'Democracy of Tomorrow is the Work of Today' in Arwa Bent Abdul-Mutaleb School. Doha, Qatar.

### **Academic Distinctions and Awards**

- 2013-      H.H. Emir Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani Scholarship, MA, Government Program  
2014      (Johns Hopkins, Washington DC, USA)
  
- 2011      Earned the Excellence Golden Medal at the Excellence Class Graduation of 2011 graduates at Qatar University. Only ten medals are given for the 10 highest GPAs among all QU graduates. Received the 2<sup>nd</sup> place, second highest GPA in this ceremony. Doha, Qatar.
  
- 2008-      Included three times in the Vice President's List at Qatar University. Doha,  
2010      Qatar
  
- 2008-      Included in the Dean's List at Qatar University for all six semesters. Doha,  
2010      Qatar
  
- 2007      Honored by His Highness the Heir Apparent Sheikh Tamim Bin Hamad Al-Thani in the Education Excellence Day 2007 as excellent student and the event included all Qatari high school graduates with grade of 95 and above. Doha, Qatar.
  
- 2005-      Awarded the title Perfect Student for being the top student in my class  
2007      from Arwa Bent Abdul-Mutaleb high school for girls. Doha, Qatar.

### **Publications**

- May      Michael W. Traugott, Jill Wittrock, Fatimah Al-Khaldi, Amina Albloshi,  
2013      Kaltham Al-Suwaidi, and Sara Zikri. (2013). "The Salience of Issues in Different Communities in Qatar." In P. Moy (Ed.), Communication and Community. New York: Hampton Press.

### **Technical Reports**

- 2013      Survey of Civil Society Organizations in Qatar 2013 (with Justin Gengler and Sara Zikri). Full Report, Social & Economic Survey Research Institute, Qatar University, Doha, Qatar.
  
- 2013      Qatari Women Survey 2011: Marriage and Fertility Patterns (with Darwish Al-Emadi, Abdoulaye Diop, Kien Le, Nizam Khan, Hanan Abdul-Rahim, Sara Zikri, Mohammed Al-Subaey and Semsia Mustafa). Full Report, Social & Economic Survey Research Institute, Qatar University, Doha, Qatar.

- 2012 “Education in Qatar 2012” (with Darwish Al-Emadi). Second Annual Omnibus Survey: A Survey of Life in Qatar. Executive Summary Report, Social & Economic Survey Research Institute, Qatar University, Doha, Qatar.
- 2012 National Human Rights Committee Survey 2011 (with Darwish Al-Emadi, Abdoulaye Diop, Kien Le, and Sara Al Marri). Full Report, Social & Economic Survey Research Institute, Qatar University, Doha, Qatar.

### **Training Workshops and Programs**

- Jan. 2014 Workshops on “Online Teaching: Sharing the First Experience for Improvement” by Dr. Basyouny Nehela, “Benefits of using Knowledge Survey in Teaching” by Dr. Mohammed Al-Khulaifi & Dr. Nezal Keswani, “Boost Your Higher Education Career Through Online Professional Development” by Ms. Jumana Samara, “Techniques To Help Students Create More Confident and Professional Presentations” by Dr. Chris Evers, “The Role of Audience in Teaching & Learning with Social Media” by Ms. Jenn Wicks, and “QU WebEx: Create & Delivering Effective Web-Based Presentations” by Ms. Shuja Ashfaq. Office of Faculty and Instructional Development at Qatar University. Doha, Qatar. January 21-22, 2014.
- Oct. 2013 Workshop on “RefWorks” at Johns Hopkins University Bernstein-Offit Building. Washington DC, USA. October 7.
- April 2013 Workshop on “Introduction to Sampling” at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute - Qatar University in collaboration with Institute for Social Research - University of Michigan Ann Arbor. Doha, Qatar. April 29-May 1.
- April 2013 One-day workshop on “Making News with Polls: What communicators need to know about public opinion polling”. Trainer: Richard Morin (from Pew Research Center, Washington D.C). Social & Economic Survey Research Institute at Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.
- March 2013 Workshop on “Introduction to Data Analysis” at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute - Qatar University in collaboration with Institute for Social Research - University of Michigan Ann Arbor. Doha, Qatar.
- Feb. 2013 One-day workshop on “Report Editing”. Trainer: Richard Morin (from Pew Research Center, Washington D.C). Social & Economic Survey Research Institute at Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.
- Nov. 2012 Workshop on using STATA at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute - Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.
- May 2012 Workshop on “Introduction to Survey Design” at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute - Qatar University in collaboration with Institute for Social Research - University of Michigan Ann Arbor. Doha, Qatar.
- April 2012 Workshop on “Introduction to Sampling Design” at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute - Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.
- Dec. 2011 Workshop on “Population and Employment Projections for the State of Qatar” organized by Qatar Statistics Authority (QSA). Doha, Qatar.

July 2011	IELTS Preparation Course (Upper Intermediate level) at British Council. Doha, Qatar.
June 2011	3-days workshop on "Content Analysis" at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute – Qatar University in collaboration with Institute for Social Research - University of Michigan Ann Arbor. Doha, Qatar.
April 2011	"Analysis of Secondary Data Using SPSS" at Social & Economic Survey Research Institute - Qatar University in collaboration with Institute for Social Research - University of Michigan Ann Arbor. Doha, Qatar. April 11-14.
August 2007	Preparation course in computer, mathematics (SAT) and TOFEL at Qatar University. Doha, Qatar.

### **Language Skills**

English (fluent)  
Arabic (native)

### **Software Skills**

Microsoft Office, SPSS, STATA, Qualtrics online survey software, Blaise program software